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MID-AMERICA

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Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil

THE AWAKENING INTEREST IN BRAZIL

One of the most notable enlargements of knowledge in the whole field of historical writings has been brought about in these recent years by scholars in the United States who have centered their attention on the many phases of Spanish American activities. Since the "discovery" of South America by North American historians in the early decades of this century, the shelves of libraries have gradually become bulky with all types of informative writings, while the knowledge of past and present conditions of South and Central America has been spread more widely among the various classes of people in this country. General interest in the other nations of the Western Hemisphere has been enormously stimulated in more recent times by the inauguration of various programs of intellectual cooperation. The demand for information beyond the superficial daily grows greater, owing to the widespread graduate work in universities, to the manifold problems of economy and defense, to the gradual breakdown of prejudice, and to the program of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State. Spanish America is now a vital concern of everyday America.

Following along at a respectable distance in years in the wake of the students of Spanish America are the far fewer writers on early Portuguese and Brazilian developments. Portugal left no early monuments in our lands, and played no rôle in our international affairs. The greater language barrier has played its part in retarding a growth of knowledge about her past glories in Brazil, and has shut off from English readers a fine library of worth-while books. Not because the scholars of Portugal and Brazil have been idle has this situation arisen. In fact their writers have been assiduously producing high types of scholarly works with distinctively new approaches. Regularly, source ma-

terials are produced in the Portuguese. Yet, despite their efforts and those of the Latin American historians of this country, fundamental concepts about the great fifteenth century of the Portuguese, and about the origins of the largest of the American republics, are vague and shadowy.

The reasons for the neglect in the English-speaking world of the social, religious, and cultural beginnings in sixteenth-century Brazil are difficult to classify. Historians emphasized more the colorful advance of the Spanish Empire in the New World, rather than the plodding progress of the Portuguese. The coming of the Braganza court and of Portugal itself to Brazil in Napoleonic times, and the Empire under Dom Pedro II had greater possibilities. Moreover, as writers generally admit, the only dynamic cultural force during a great part of colonial times in Brazil was the Jesuit Order,¹ and all-important manuscript records covering the period remained until recent times unexploited in Jesuit archives. But whatever the reasons for neglect in the past, the fact is that a marvelous field for study has been opened in Brazil. In the last half of the nineteenth century some of the Jesuit relations were published. With the scientific perusal of such documents the full significance of the wealth of materials in the Jesuit archives became apparent to Portuguese and Brazilian historians. At present "a complete revision of Brazilian history is now possible."² The time is ripe for at least some preliminary writings in English concerning this important history of Brazilian beginnings, so well known among Portuguese readers as to be almost a byword.

The only detailed history of sixteenth-century Brazil in English has long been the first volume of Southey.³ His sources were slender, even entirely lacking for the last quarter of the fifteen hundreds, and consequently his work is of the flora-and-fauna, native-custom, and moralizing type. His observations, shallow though they were, set the form to the present for many more inept generalizers. Nevertheless, Southey, who confessedly hated Catholicism, and who applied the *leyenda negra* to Portugal's American efforts at Christianization, bitterly rendered high praise to the work of the Jesuits.

¹ Pedro Calmon, *História Social do Brasil*, 3 volumes, São Paulo, 1940, I, 15, 111-112, 114-135.

² Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil*, 2 volumes (thus far), São Paulo, 1939-1941, I, 15.

³ Robert Southey, *History of Brazil*, 3 volumes, London, 1810; second edition, 1822; in Portuguese, *História do Brasil*, 6 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

Joam III was the great benefactor of the Jesuits, their first, steadiest, and most useful friend. He had already sent out S. Francis Xavier to the East, and now the souls of his Brazilian subjects became a cause of concern to him. Joam was superstitious to the lowest depth of degradation, but he was pious also; his misdirected faith occasioned in him a slavish observance of absurd forms, and a cruel intolerance toward those of a different belief; . . . Christianity, even when so disfigured and defiled, is still, from those moral and domestic precepts which are inseparable from it, a great and powerful engine of civilization, a great and inestimable blessing. . . .⁴

Having bound the Jesuits up with John III, Southey recognizes them as "the protectors of the Indians: this though it is Jesuit's language, is here also the language of truth"; and regarding the Indians, the Jesuits "excited their admiration and respect by the decency and holiness of their deportment, and they won their love by manifesting a disinterested good-will toward them, of which all their conduct in Brazil bore testimony."⁵

Remarks favorable to the Jesuits might not have been expected of one steeped in the Elizabethan tradition of hatred, but one would assuredly not expect to find in a textbook published in these enlightened United States, one hundred and thirty years after Southey, a denial of even Southey's begrudged recognition of the achievement of the fathers.

The Jesuits had held the natives in virtual slavery, reaping rich fruits from their labor. . . . With increased wealth the members became worldly and often corrupt, forgetting their religious vows and the teaching of their faith. . . ."⁶

⁴ Southey, (1810), I, 222-223.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 300-301. Many similar statements of his could be quoted.

⁶ A. Curtis Wilgus, *The Development of Hispanic America*, New York, 1941, 208. These statements are contradicted in other pages, e. g., 231, 232, and thus students are confused. The first restate views expressed by Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *História geral do Brasil*, 5 volumes, third edition, by J. Capistrano de Abreu and Rodolfo Garcia, São Paulo, n. d., II, 422-423, III, 244, 246, and IV, 174-181, and elsewhere. The general merits of this monumental work are known, and defects of his interpretation, his viewpoints, and piece-meal treatments, have been pointed out. The best evaluation of Varnhagen's contribution is in J. Capistrano de Abreu, *Ensaio e Estudos*, 3 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1938, I, 127-141, 195-209. See also Basilio de Magalhães, *Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen*, I) *Summaria biographica critica*, II) *Bibliographia methodizada e razoad*, Rio de Janeiro, 1928.

Southey's discussion of events preceding the suppression of the Jesuits, despite personal views on religion, is much more broadly conceived than is Varnhagen's. Generalizations on economic matters as found in both are done for by reason of the scholarly findings in Roberto C. Simonsen, *História Económica do Brasil, 1500-1800*, São Paulo, 1937, II, 115-174, 215. Contrast also the description of Pombal's character in Varnhagen, IV, 317-320, with that of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, Madrid, 1911-1932, VI, 148, and J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *O Marques de*

Besides re-echoing prejudices, such subjective generalizations ignore the findings of capable Portuguese and Brazilian scholarship. What offense they give in a country whose people see the likenesses of Nóbrega, Anchieta, and Vieira daily on coins, stamps, and in public parks and buildings, what opinion they leave in Brazil of North American intelligence, cannot be estimated.

Recent Brazilian historians view their history in a very different light. They place the work of the Jesuits at the foundation of their national development. In 1928, J. Capistrano de Abreu repeated what was known to Lusitanian scholars: "A history of the Jesuits is an urgently needed work."⁷ Years before, Joaquim Nabuco had written: "Virtually from their first days to the expulsion (1549-1759), the life of the Jesuits in Brazil may be described as having been an incessant struggle for the freedom of the Indians. . . . They are the abolitionists of those days."⁸ João Pandiá Calogeras repeats: "Thomé de Souza and Father Manoel da Nóbrega were the real founders of Brazil."⁹ José Francisco de Rocha Pombo writes:

Even to this day there are not lacking those who condemn them as intolerant for the manner in which they set themselves especially against the two greatest evils of the time—the régime of licence in which the whites lived, and the abusive exploitation of the aborigines. What would have come, however, of the cause so truly social and humanitarian which they had come to defend, if they had been willing to tolerate for an instant those dissolute ways and acts of violence? Reacting, therefore, against the condition into which they found the colonies to have degenerated, the Jesuits fulfilled the most difficult and the most heroic of the tasks imposed by the high historic mission that they were to perform. . . . From the moment that they disembarked at Bahia in 1549, until their expulsion . . . they had to wage an incessant struggle against force and undergo a life of suffering on every hand. In many captaincies, such as in S. Vicente and Maranhão, these struggles were among those which more than anything else dis-

Pombal e a sua época, Rio de Janeiro, 1922, and *id.*, *Os Jesuítas no Grão-Pará*, Coimbra, 1930.

⁷ *Capítulos de História Colonial, 1500-1800*, Rio de Janeiro, 1928, 192. Capistrano de Abreu (1853-1927), "one of the outstanding figures in modern Brazilian historiography," is best known for his *Capítulos* and for his edition of Varnhagen, cited above. See Percy A. Martin's English edition of João Pandiá Calogeras, *A History of Brazil*, Chapel Hill, 1939, viii, 31, note 6. A complete bibliography of Capistrano de Abreu's writings is compiled by Tancredo de Barros Paiva, "Bibliographia Capistraneana," *Annaes do Museu Paulista*, São Paulo, IV (1931), 481-512.

⁸ *III Centenario do Veneravel José de Anchieta*, Paris-Lisbon, 1900, 328. Nabuco was the famous abolitionist of his own times.

⁹ Calogeras-Martin, 10.

turbed the peace of the colonies. Amidst all this we must recognize the indisputable testimony to the fact that the Jesuits were faithful to their mission. . . . Besides that ideal, these men also played a rôle in the formation of the country and in its future national development which places them among the greatest of our predecessors, to whom we owe our most sincere civic homage; they helped us effectively to defend and preserve our land.¹⁰

Manoel de Oliveira Lima reaches the conclusion: ". . . the priests of the Jesuit Order rendered such remarkable services in Brazil that it is no exaggeration to say that they were the principal agents of our national culture, particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that is, during the period in which the new society was adapting itself to its new surroundings."¹¹ And ten years ago, the eminent contemporary scholar and man of letters, Afrânio Peixoto, a leader and promoter of the study of early Brazilian Jesuit history, summarized the part played by the Society of Jesus in moulding Brazilian civilization.

[The Jesuits] found small nuclei of settlements on the coast from Pernambuco to São Vicente. The indigines devoured one another; the *reinóes* [Portuguese] killed and enslaved them; some lived in polygamy, others in promiscuity. The clergy themselves were corrupted here.

But the Jesuits came. With them came virtue . . . justice and equity between the two races, Whites and Blacks. . . . And both races were finally dominated by the public and private morality of the Jesuits.

Later they were the teachers and instructors . . . of the *reinóes* . . . the Brazilian natives, free and slave. . . . They gave direction to customs, minds, senses. Class rooms, religious ceremonies, entertainment, song, music, sacred and profane drama, advanced studies, yet never scorning manual labor. Here brothers became priests, and, in a few decades, a Vieira, alumnus of Bahia, was to become a teacher at Olinda, and with what he had acquired in Brazil he was to be marvelled at in Portugal. . . . The Jesuits were builders of houses, churches, colleges, even cities. . . . They were doctors . . . ministering to the infirm. . . . The Jesuits were our salvation when Brazil was born. . . . The Society of Jesus gave form to Brazil in its infancy. . . .

Invaluable documents of history, geography, ethnography, are the chronicles, letters, reports, written about Brazil and the Brazilians during their first contact with civilization. The letter of Caminha, those of Vespucci, the German gazette, the diary of Pero Lopez, the

¹⁰ José Francisco de Rocha Pombo, *História do Brasil*, 10 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, n. d., III, 396-397, 433-434.

¹¹ *The Evolution of Brazil*, translated and edited by Percy A. Martin, Stanford University, 1914, 19.

works of Hans Staden, Gandavo, Thevet, Lery, Gabriel Soares . . . have to parallel them, for the first century, the letters of Nóbrega, Anchieta, Cardim . . . "Our Classics."¹²

The third centenary of the death of Anchieta, celebrated in 1897, marks a renaissance in Brazil of the study of the rôle of the Jesuits in the colonial period. Leading spirits in this movement were Francisco de Paula Rodrigues, Eduardo Prado, Brasília Machado, Teodoro Sampaio, Américo de Novais, João Monteiro, Couto de Magalhães, Rui Barbosa, Manuel Vicente da Silva, Julio de Mezquita, Antonio Ferreira Viana, Joaquim Nabuco, and Capistrano de Abreu, outstanding figures in Brazilian historiography.¹³ The efforts of these men and others have greatly augmented the bibliography of the sixteenth-century social and cultural history, while the part played by the Jesuits has become fairly well known, due especially to the researches and publications of Capistrano de Abreu, Afrânio Peixoto, Antonio de Alcantara Machado, Vale Cabral, Rodolfo Garcia, Serafim Leite, and the Brazilian Academy. Already the documents gathered together, carefully edited, and published are a remarkable source collection. And there is promise of greater enrichment, if we are to judge from the use made of unexploited documents by Leite in his first two volumes of the *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*.¹⁴

In view of these excellent and at times brilliant publications there is no longer any justifiable recourse to hypothetical evidence and all-inclusive generalizations about the structure of early colonial life in Brazil. As Calmon remarks:

These developments have aided in the clarification of details, the verification of minutiae, and the repudiation of syntheses susceptible to gross errors, . . . they have distinguished basic facts from im-

¹² Afrânio Peixoto, ed., *Cartas Jesuíticas*, II, *Cartas Avulsas*, 1550-1568, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, 11-13, 18-19.

¹³ Serafim Leite, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 2 volumes (thus far), Lisbon, 1938, I, xix-xxvi, bibliographical note.

¹⁴ Father Leite's brilliant and prolific works must be added to the list which he gives in his *História*. His *Páginas de História do Brasil*, São Paulo, 1937, and his more recent *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas, de Nóbrega a Vieira*, São Paulo, 1940, add documents to those already published in the *Collecção Afrânio Peixoto* of the Brazilian Academy, especially the three volumes entitled *Cartas Jesuíticas* edited by Peixoto. These, with the edition of Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*, Rio, 1925, and other scattered documents of the Jesuits, are a fine source collection for the sixteenth century. Yet they are the beginning only of the publication of manuscripts. There is now possibility of a Brazilian section in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, and some other volumes of *cartas annuas* similar to the *Documentos* of the Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas of Buenos Aires.

probability and from "notable falsities" which have somewhat colored so many chapters of the officially accepted account.¹⁵

Indeed, the volumes, over and above the illumination which they have thrown on the emerging picture, have banished certain bogies, have eliminated misconceptions, have brought out highlights, and have sounded a warning to American historians to beware obsolete bias and to be aware of what Luso-American scholarship has achieved.

They have done more. They have indicated the great necessity for a rather sweeping reorientation for English-speaking peoples. Some historians have long argued for an approach to the American scene from the viewpoint of Portuguese progress in the fifteenth century. In many particulars Portugal appears as the first of the modern imperial nations, with all that capitalism and empire building implies. Samuel Purchas was somewhat aware of Portugal's contribution to the modern era: "And unto Portugall was Spain beholden for Columbus, and Columbus also for his skill, whereby the Colombian (so fitlier named than American) World was discovered."¹⁶ How long will it be before this newer approach becomes familiar? Those who have decried the idea of beginning the history of the Americas with Jamestown and the *Mayflower* may be able to answer. Once a vantage point for a broad outlook has been given and accepted, it is difficult to cut one's way down into the thorny and rocky valley of details.

The same need for a reorientation applies to the history of the Jesuits in the two Americas. Their missionary and educational activities, it was found out in recent decades, did not begin and end in New France. Their labors in Spanish America, embarked upon much earlier, were far more widespread and productive of results. So ubiquitous were they that it will be years before the documents which they have left behind them from Mexico to Chile will have been completely organized. But with the opening of the Brazilian and Portuguese studies it becomes increasingly clearer that the story of their American developments goes back, beyond the Spanish approach, to the Portuguese fathers in the Brazilian field. The missionary ideals of the Jesuit founders were first put into effect from Portugal. The first invitation to the mission fields came from the Portuguese crown. Procedures, regulations, methods of organizing and dealing with

¹⁵ *História do Brasil*, 15.

¹⁶ Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Glasgow-New York, 1905, II, 19.

the native Indians were thought out in Brazil and later adapted by the Spanish and French fathers. The effects of the Jesuits on Brazil were altogether more enduring than they were in other sections of the Americas. The guns of the great conflict which they waged in all sectors against enslavement and the unjust exploitation of the aborigines, opened fire first in Brazil. And in Brazil they were first silenced.

Certain phases of the missionary work of the Jesuits in Brazil received mention at greater or less length in any English textbook touching the history of that vast area. Practically nothing is known outside Portugal and Brazil of the systems of education, primary, secondary, and higher, maintained there in the colonial period, and nothing is known of the northern mission systems obtaining there. Authors generally make their remarks revolve around the deeds of three or four fathers whom no writer could possibly omit. But, Nóbrega, Anchieta, and Vieira would not have appeared on the scene in any efficient rôle without the backing of a solid organization and without the background of training, nor could their efforts have succeeded if these factors and capable helpers had been lacking. Moreover, only organized, cooperative effort, directed by a succession of forceful administrators, could have produced any lasting impression upon the land and upon the life of its native and incoming peoples; only coordinated attack and unified motivation could have sustained the drive against paganism or the positive program of education over the span of two hundred years. Wherefore, it seems, a brief sketch of the organization of the Jesuits in Portugal for that drive is fundamental to a description of the formation of the Brazilian units.

JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Portugal sets the date of its birth in 1140. It stretched itself south to its present size by 1253, mostly at the expense of the Moslems. It won a complete separation from neighboring Castile, and opened a second and mature epoch in its history in the battle of Aljubarrota, 1385. In that year the glorious rule of João I (1385-1433), the first of the House of Aviz, commenced. Portugal took its first step overseas in 1415, when the king, the princes, and nobles made a chivalrous assault successfully against Ceuta, the Moorish stronghold across from Gibraltar. The offensive against Islam was pushed vigorously. In 1420 Prince Henry inaugurated the conquest and occupation of the west coast of Africa. Navigators, scientists, crusaders, missionaries, slave

hunters, and gold seekers, each according to his motive and interest made remarkable discoveries. Africa, emerging from its darkness as the first New World, was granted to Portugal for Christianization by Pope Nicholas V in 1454, and after the voyage of Bartholomeu Diaz in 1486, sent out by John II, "The Perfect," Portugal had claim to 6,000 miles of its western shores. Her investment over the span of years from 1415 to 1500 had been enormous; her gains in raw products, industries, business, commerce, and prestige, and her losses in men and money and morals were equally great.

A second great colonial front was established soon after Vasco da Gama's journey (1497-1498) around the Cape of Good Hope had pointed the way to India. He sought trade and Christians, and met no followers of Columbus, who had claimed to be occupying the vicinity for Spain. The field was promising, and hence the huge expedition captained by Pedro Alvares Cabral was sent forth manned by soldiers, traders, and missionaries. The "Age of the Heroes" was in full swing. When the intensive occupation of India began in 1505, Portugal was nearing the end of her greatest century.

Political, administrative, financial, and religious difficulties confronted João III on his ascension to the throne in 1521. Every extension of the empire, every increase of trade and industry had proved to be vents through which the life blood of the nation flowed. The wars of conquest, shipwrecks, internal strifes, and frequent devastating plagues had taken great toll of her best manhood.¹⁷ Her population was little more than a million.¹⁸ Many foreign colonies had sprung up in the port cities. Many of the profits of a hard-won colonial business went to foreign lands. Portugal had become cosmopolitan in many ways.¹⁹ Renaissance

¹⁷ Francisco de Almeida, *História do Portugal*, Coimbra, 1922-1929, III, 253-257. H. Morse Stephens, *The Story of Portugal*, New York, 1891, might be quoted for statements about the reign of John III and conditions in the kingdom, but it is antiquated, maintains an attitude of bias, and is regularly inconsistent; e. g., John III is called a fanatical bigot, 178, 179, though "personally a pious and estimable man." The position of the book in the matter of citation parallels the case of Southey's: it has been quoted because it has been "the only available survey in English." His survey of Portuguese colonization in Brazil, 220-235, is very general and laudatory.

¹⁸ R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550*, Westminster, 1899, puts the Portuguese population in 1500 between 1,800,000 and 2,000,000; Calmon, *História do Brasil*, I, 100, following Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de História Americana*, 1, gives 1,200,000 to 1,400,000; Almeida, III, 242, calculated 1,043,274 for 1421, and 1,122,112 for 1527. However the figure is taken, it remains an astounding fact that throughout its great century Portugal carried on with certainly less than 300,000 men.

¹⁹ Almeida, III, 258.

and foreign thought affected the upper classes.²⁰ More and more were the lower classes, even jailbirds, utilized for enterprises which were once the privileges of nobility alone. Inexpert navigators and inefficiency had brought ruin to many lenders and borrowers alike. The cost of the naval warfare (1509-1521) which cut the trade lanes of the Mohammedans through the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, was great, even though it hit the Sultan vitally and cut the prestige of Venice and Genoa as trade centers.²¹

Material progress, infiltrations of foreign customs, monopolies, the rise of a new monied class, the deterioration of the nobility, Judaism, each tended toward the further disorganization of society. Despite the existence of the undying spirit of the crusader among some, the sense of morality for many had become blunted, and the laxity of the clergy and laity, attributable to many causes, was apparent.

Everywhere the new king, twenty years of age, saw the need of a spiritual, social, intellectual, moral, and economic regeneration. And by degrees he got around to alleviating many of the distresses of his afflicted kingdom.²² Although certain troubles at home diminished and new ones arose, such as the Protestant Revolt, the rise of the Spanish empire, and the seafaring propensities of French freebooters, he was able to push the colonial program in India and found another empire in Brazil. How he reinvigorated Portugal in one detail may now be described.

King John III ever encouraged education and learning.²³ Boys not only of Lisbon but also from outlying towns were frequently

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 271.

²¹ Sir E. Denison Ross, in *The Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge-New York, 1929, V, 10-13.

²² Naturally he trod on many a privileged toe, with the logical result that his name has been heaped with opprobrium by some and with eulogy by others. Alexandre Herculano, *História da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1852, (seventh edition, 1907), translated by John C. Branner, Stanford University, 1926, is a jumbled diatribe against religion and the "putrid corpse of absolutism." To him John III as prince was an imbecile and later a fanatic. (See next note for citation to a more accurate appraisal of John's good and bad qualities.) Pope Clement VII, "The gracious friend of Israel," and his successor, Pope Paul III, disagreed with the Inquisition policy of John III, see Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes*, translated by Ralph F. Kerr, third edition, London-St. Louis, Missouri, 1923, X, 371-372, and XII, 45-50; but then, John, otherwise on friendly terms with the papacy, was rebuked in 1524 for imprisoning two Catholic bishops, *ibid.*, X, 371. See also J. D. M. Ford, *Letters of John III, King of Portugal, 1521-1557*, Cambridge, 1931, xvi-xvii.

²³ Francisco Rodrigues, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, Pôrto, 1931-1938, Tómo I, Vol. I, xli-xcv, presents a scholarly survey of the intellectual status of the kingdom in the time of John III.

brought to the court for training; the better scholars at times were sent abroad for further studies; Portuguese men of letters and science could be found lecturing in different European universities. The renowned Doctor Diogo de Gouveia, it so happened, was director of the Portuguese College of Santa Barbara, one of the fifty colleges of the great University of Paris, and in 1526 John III gave to this college an endowment to cover fifty scholarships. In the following year one of these bursaries went to a youth of seventeen, Simão Rodrigues de Azevedo, who had come from the small town of Vouzela to the court to be a page to the cardinal in the royal chapel.²⁴ In October 1527, Simon with his brother embarked upon their courses in the University of Paris, wearing the garb of collegials of the College of Santa Barbara, and rejoicing in the companionship of many Portuguese in Paris who later became prominent in the intellectual, political, and religious life of their homeland. To this college in 1529 came a Basque student, Ignatius of Loyola.

Simon acquired his bachelor's degree in 1532, and then in October of that year commenced his four years of lectures required for his licentiate. Midway through his course, in the summer of 1534, he made a spiritual retreat under the direction of Ignatius of Loyola, during which he arrived at a decision as to his future walk of life. He added his name to the group of students formed by Ignatius—Peter Faber, Francis Xavier, James Laínez, Alphonse Salmeron, and Nicholas Bobadilla—who had the general intention of working for the conversion of Mohammedans to Christianity. Their plans, however, had become more specific, and on August 15, 1534, they all met in a chapel of Montmartre to vow poverty, chastity, obedience, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and lifelong service for the salvation of their neighbor.

The members of this little Company of Jesus having completed their studies at Paris, Ignatius in 1534, Simon in 1536, wended their way in groups through European cities as preachers and pilgrims until they came together in Rome in March 1537, nine in number. After an audience with Pope Paul III in April, they went to Venice, where on June 24, Ignatius, Xavier, Simon, and four others were ordained priests. The practice of good works in various communities and the drafting of their Constitutions occupied the Jesuits to 1540, but before the papal approval of the new religious Order was granted, September 27 of the same

²⁴ Rodrigues, *História*, I, I, 43.

year, some had been assigned to evangelize distant parts of the world. Simon Rodrigues was the first of the Jesuits to go forth from Rome bound for the foreign mission field.²⁵

The appointment was logical, if consideration is taken of the situation in Portugal. Various Portuguese gentlemen and scholars, among whom prominently was Diogo de Gouveia of the College of Santa Barbara, had been promoting the cause of Ignatius with great moral and material aid during the trying years of the formation of his Company. As a consequence King John III had for years been hearing of the zealous band from one or other prelate, professor, or agent. He was aware, too, of the induction of Simon Rodrigues. The missionary purpose of the Jesuits, especially that of Christianizing Moslems, was long a motivating force in Portugal. The king on August 23, 1539, penned instructions to his Ambassador to Rome, Pedro Mascarenhas, to obtain these Jesuits for services in his Indian possessions. Mascarenhas first let the Pope know the king's wishes, indicating thereby to the Holy See royal sponsorship of the as yet unestablished Order, and then he spoke to Ignatius with good effect. Simon Rodrigues and Francis Xavier were ordered by their superior to Portugal, thence to India. Simon left Rome in March 1540 and arrived at the Court of Lisbon on April 17; Francis joined him there at the end of June.²⁶

Padre Rodrigues, then thirty years old, and Xavier, four years his senior, began their apostolate of preaching in the streets and pulpits of Lisbon and nearby towns. The esteem for them on the part of king, court, and people grew so in a month's time that the monarch hesitated between sending them east to aid in the spiritual conquest of India and keeping them home for the betterment of his capital city. His final decision was a compromise: Xavier would go to the Indies, Rodrigues would remain to establish the Jesuits in a college for missionaries to be attached to the University of Coimbra. When the king called the two into his presence to hear his final verdict, Simon had to swallow his deep disappointment. Xavier sailed away to his famous apostolate on April 7, 1541, with the doughty navigator, Governor Martim

²⁵ J. M. Granero, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales de San Ignacio de Loyola*, *Bibliotheca Hispana Missionum*, Volume VI, Burgos, 1931, 30. This is an excellent compendium of the origins of various missionary methods of the Jesuits.

²⁶ Rodrigues, *História*, I, I, 232, 241. In view of the excellent work of Father Rodrigues it does not appear advisable to add citations, regarding the early history of the Jesuits in Portugal, in these footnotes. The manuscript sources which he used are unavailable and his citations of published documents and secondary works are quite sufficient.

Afonso da Sousa, recently returned from his sojourn in Brazil, leaving the younger Jesuit with his great desire to evangelize India. Simon's longings for the foreign missions and for the companionship of his great friend are expressed in letter after letter through the following ten years and in the zest with which he set about gathering and forming men for such fields.²⁷

His ministries continued with great success in Lisbon, meanwhile banking much on developing the proposed college. In September 1541 John III expressed to Ignatius his wish to give the Company the old, abandoned monastery of St. Anthony of Lisbon. The legalities of the transaction, involving approvals of the Pope, the bishop, and Ignatius (recently elected General of the Company), were conformed with, and on January 5, 1542, the old cloister and church were occupied by a grateful Simon Rodrigues, two others recently admitted to the Company, and three postulants for admission. Other youths became acquainted with the purpose of the Jesuits. By May there were seventeen housed in the small dormitory, some busily engaged in works of mercy and in the primary education of small boys.

The king had not for a moment forgotten his project of a distinctive college at Coimbra, in fact, he had matured his plans for it rapidly. Each new addition of student Jesuits from Italy and France tended to assure him of sincere cooperation on the part of Ignatius, and early reports of the zeal of Xavier and local Jesuits quickened his desire to have more religious priests at home and in the colonies. Consequently, Simon Rodrigues, duly appointed superior of the Jesuits in Portugal, was sent by the king to Coimbra and was welcomed there on June 13 after a four days' journey with twelve companions overjoyed at the prospects before them. Simon had been fortified by a letter of recommendation from John III "to whom it might concern," and by a sum of 700 cruzados for support of his community.²⁸

They were given hospitality by the prior of the Hieronymites for a month, while Rodrigues was choosing a housing place for his college, as the group was called. The superior selected two houses that offered sufficient space for living and for a chapel. Over these he appointed Diogo Mirão as rector, even though the young man was still an unordained student of theology. The other members of the collegial group were two from Castile, two from France, three from Italy, three from Portugal, each to

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 277-279; Granero, *La acción*, 35, 39.

²⁸ Rodrigues, *História*, I, I, 305, 307.

begin or to continue his studies in the halls of the University of Coimbra. Only one was a priest, Father Cogordon, a Frenchman. These were the foundation stones of the Colégio de Jesus, whose inconspicuous beginning gave no indication of the illustrious products to come. When at the end of the same June 1542, five new entrants of various nationalities arrived from Rome, the international character of the college was manifest, and, moreover, some idea of John's forgetfulness of national barriers may be gathered.

Regulations had to be drafted and provisions made. Rodrigues did so, giving thus the first detailed legislation of the Society of Jesus; rules of life, of conduct in the streets and lecture halls, and of individual administrative offices were made by him.²⁹ Thereafter he returned to Lisbon. One by one new members received by him into the Order took up an abode in the college and began to wear a distinctive habit designed at the court and donated by the king. At the end of 1542 there were twenty-five. Seeing the cramped conditions in the residence the rector of the university gave the Company a third house. During 1543 the number of Jesuits in training in the Colégio de Jesus increased to 45; in 1544 it went to 70, and in 1551 to nearly 130.³⁰ It was destined from its beginning to be the great religious and educational center of the Jesuits in Portugal. In the annals of the Company Coimbra looms large as a testing ground for the *Ratio Studiorum*, the codification of Jesuit educational practices. Many of the regulations, methods, and correctives of the plan of studies had their origin there. From the halls of Coimbra formed Jesuits yearly went forth, some to be professors and administrators in other colleges and universities, some to be preachers, many to be instructors in the increasing number of secondary schools of Europe, and some to be missionaries, educators, builders, and purveyors of European civilization in the vast colonial possessions of Portugal.³¹

Mention might be made of a few important men, whose deeds will be presented in separate articles in future pages of this quarterly. There was Luiz da Grã from Lisbon, who entered the Society and the college in June 1543 at the age of twenty-two. After completing his studies he became the fourth rector of his

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 537. In his Chapters III and IV, *ibid.*, 537-595, and in other studies, Rodrigues enlarges upon this theme; plentiful details are given to indicate the significance of Simon Rodrigues in the spiritual, literary, and scientific formation of the early Jesuits.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 442-443.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 443-477, 603-618, 641-675, and I, Vol. II, 523, 517-584.

alma mater and then moved to Brazil in 1553, there to make history worthy of a volume. Outstanding as an orator, missionary, educator, and Jesuit provincial, Grã lived beyond his eighty-seventh birthday, dying at the completion of fifty-five years of work in the new land.³² Other notable administrators of the Province of Brazil followed a similar path. Manuel da Nóbrega entered the college in November 1544. Ignatius Azevedo joined the Company in December 1548. José de Anchieta began in May 1551, and Cristóvão de Gouveia was admitted in January 1556. These are the more important among a host of graduates who contributed substantially to the social, cultural, economic, and religious organization of sixteenth-century Brazil.

The architect assigned by John III to draw plans for the new building for the college finally submitted them for approval, but still, owing to some amusing obstructionists, the foundation stones were not laid until April 14, 1547. The occasion called for tributes. Engraved on the individual stones were the names of Jesus, Pope Paul III, Ignatius Loyola, King John III, Queen Catherine, and Prince John.³³

The Jesuit students who to this time had been receiving all of their instruction in the University of Coimbra, now commenced hearing a lecture course given by one of their graduate members. The number of their instructors gradually increased, until in October 1553, the first Jesuit curriculum of studies having survived tests was put into operation. It embraced three years of grammar, one of humanities, one of rhetoric, three years of Scholastic philosophy, and four years of theology. Two years later the Colégio de Jesus was officially made the College of Arts of the University of Coimbra with royal privileges, open to all students. So it grew, enjoying some healthy disputes, until at the end of the century the Colégio Real das Artes had twenty-three professorial chairs, and, in 1597, the high point of its enrollment, somewhat over 2,500 students.

Reverting to 1542 and to Simon Rodrigues at Lisbon, we find him directing affairs of the Company from the old monastery of St. Anthony. All was not smooth sailing for the Master Simon. There was much correspondence with Ignatius, his general, since rules and customs of the Jesuits were in their formation period. Oppositions arose to the newcomers, "contradictions" as they are

³² Separate articles on Grã and other Jesuits, similar to that on Gouveia immediately following this article, will appear in MID-AMERICA in the near future.

³³ Rodrigues, *História*, II, II, 13-15, 171-249.

labeled, and criticisms from some of the clergy and citizens. Here and there the superior admitted one who became a disturber. Rumors of the austere practices in the college at Coimbra caught the alert ear of the Inquisition which sent an official to quiz the scholastics. Perhaps the greatest trouble was caused by overzealousness, which cropped up among some of the enthusiastic younger members in vigorous public preaching and private rigorous asceticism. In the absence of explicit regulations from Rome, this tendency ran counter to the general Ignatian principle of moderation and levelheadedness in all things, and ultimately by dividing opinion in the Portuguese communities brought Rodrigues and his cohort under suspicion. Nevertheless, despite troubles, the superior in Lisbon proved a notable founder, and, at the conclusion of a visitation of his jurisdiction in 1545, Fathers Peter Faber and Antonio de Araoz praised his administration highly.³⁴

When Ignatius had weighed well the sundry conflicting reports from Portugal he called Rodrigues to Rome to aid him in directing the fast-growing Company. King John, who had attached Simon to the court as tutor to the prince, preacher, and adviser on the educational program, requested the General to rescind the order.³⁵ Loyola in deference to the wishes of the royal benefactor did so. And as a demonstration of confidence in the administration of his companion he named Rodrigues Provincial, the first of the Order to hold the post. The term of the new official began on October 10, 1546.

Rodrigues at thirty-six, although suffering from illness, built up his province, adding residences, colleges, and man-power to three hundred and eighteen members by 1552. He aided in the formation of the Province of Castile in 1547, by suggesting the step to Ignatius and by obtaining the recommendation of John III to Prince Philip of Spain for the establishment. In 1544 he had sent seven men headed by Diego Mirón from Coimbra for the new College of Valencia, the nucleus of the Province of Aragon established as such in 1552 with Rodrigues as first pro-

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, I, 389-390. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XIII, 191, says: "Simon Rodriguez had proved himself inefficient in his position as provincial." No authority for this is cited, but the presumption is that Astrain is being used by Pastor, in view of the general statements following. Father Rodrigues's findings assuredly will have to be taken into account in future treatments of the work of Father Simon Rodrigues. What criticisms there are of the latter's administration are best put by Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, Madrid, 1902-1925, I, 239-244, 585-629.

³⁵ Rodrigues, *História*, I, I, 393.

vincial. In fact, the first four key colleges of the Jesuits in Spain owed their beginnings to Simon and his men of Coimbra.³⁶ Moreover, Portugal was the mother of the Province of Goa, 1549, Brazil, 1553, and others after 1600.

Other colleges of his establishment contributed men and ideas to the American colonies. The College of San Antonio in Lisbon grew from the original six members in 1541 to a point where it opened as a public college in 1553 under kingly patronage with 330 students; in 1590 it had a dozen professors in the arts and nine instructors for 2,500 students. The College of the Holy Ghost in Evora started in 1551 as a seminary preparatory for theological students, but in 1553 it was opened to all with an attendance of 600. Becoming a privileged university in 1559 it gradually increased in enrollment by 1592 to 1,600 students ranging from primary instruction to theological, and had twenty-one chairs in arts and theology.

The influence of Simon Rodrigues as founder, organizer, legislator, and director cannot be overestimated. The results of his remarkable energy on the spiritual and intellectual progress of his nation were great. But Brazil as well as Portugal and the Society of Jesus owed much to him. It may or it may not have been more fortunate all around if the Portuguese king and Ignatius had granted him his wish to go with Xavier to the Indies. It will not be necessary here in the face of the positive work accomplished to discuss the dissention in the Province of Portugal nor the conflict of opinion between Ignatius and Rodrigues, since that story belongs primarily to the internal management of the Society. Out of such mistakes as may have been made the whole body drew profit. Suffice it to say that Father Rodrigues, removed from his office in 1552, manifested his strong religious character by accepting his cross of penance and illness. Much esteemed in Spain, he was allowed to return to Portugal six years before his death there in 1579.

JESUIT ORGANIZATION IN BRAZIL

The history of Brazil in the sixteenth century may be rudely divided into: (1) the era of the transients, 1500 to 1525, corresponding to what has been termed the "period of Portuguese disapproval";³⁷ (2) the era of desperate colonization, 1526-1549, otherwise known as a time of awakening interest; and (3) the

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 404.

³⁷ Charles E. Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America*, New York, 1933, 71-77.

era of organized colonization, 1549 to 1600. In the first period many boats from Europe came to Brazilian coasts, willingly and unwillingly, and looked reproachfully upon them; famed explorers, shipwrecked mariners, deserters, derelicts, casual woodcutters, jailbirds from Portugal, pirates from Dieppe, and the very few voluntary colonists, all wished soon to have done with the place. Squalid settlements of whites were few; spices, cities, pearls, and pepper, which were luring men elsewhere, were missing; cannibalism and lawlessness stalked the land. But, the obscure colony refused to be neglected. A great fear that the French and Spanish might establish footholds to their own profit or for preying upon the southbound Indian fleets coupled with the alarming thought that perhaps gold and wealthy kingdoms might lie within caused John to send out captains to stake the littoral. The colonization effort was one of desperation, coming at a time of low ebb in the crown finances and when suitable people could not be obtained for the enterprise. The scattered colonies planted during the era, each under separate captains, were in a perilous condition when the undertaking to bring unity and civilized life to Brazil was begun in 1549.³⁸

The broad though thoroughly mingled motives behind the new attempt were defense against foreign intrusion, extension of Christianity, social stabilization and commercial exploitation. Suggestions toward a more efficient scheme of development came to John III from many advisers and from a survey of mistakes made during the period of haphazard colonization.³⁹ A glance about his kingdom for instruments suitable for carrying out the religious and political programs in a spirit of harmony with the crown and with themselves in the distant land revealed happy possibilities.

The king noted the progress in the Jesuit college at Coimbra, founded to develop missionaries. Simon Rodrigues had already offered to dispatch some to the colonies. In reality, the Jesuit provincial, considering any portion of the vast empire as a sphere for his religious activities, had in 1548 contemplated sending men to Brazil even without license of king or general, but he decided to follow forms by asking leave.⁴⁰ He sought permission of Ignatius to go with twelve men. Loyola granting the wish

³⁸ Calmon, *História do Brasil*, I, 142-203, describes the capitâneas. See also Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos*, 40-60.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 204.

⁴⁰ *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series IV, Vol. I, 666-667. Leite, *História da Companhia*, has ample references to materials in the *Monumenta*.

decided to substitute Father Santa Cruz in the provincialate of Portugal, but Santa Cruz died in October, whereupon the shift plan had to be dropped. However, the king granted permission to send men for three years⁴¹ and Ignatius followed this with a blanket delegation of powers to Rodrigues for sending them to Ethiopia and Brazil.⁴² In January 1549 Simon appointed Father Manuel da Nóbrega superior of a missionary band which included three other priests and two brothers later to be ordained.

For the unification of civil authority and for strong administration, Tomé de Souza stood out as most capable. He was highly recommended because of his military record, his loyalty, and governing ability, and he was cousin to Martim Afonso de Souza, the earlier captain of Brazil. Tomé was named Governor General of Brazil on January 7, 1549. He immediately prepared three ships and a brig to transport more than a thousand officials, soldiers, colonists, exiles, and Jesuits. The armada, which Nóbrega almost missed, sailed from Belem on February 1, 1549, and arrived at Bahia March 29. Strict military form was followed in the disembarkation, but the argonauts of the new order met welcome rather than assault. Work to establish the new capital of all Brazil promptly got under way.⁴³

The story of the sixteenth-century organization of the Jesuits from this time, when they took up their abode in several rude shelters near a church in the land of Caramuru, falls into three general periods. The first, 1549-1570, saw a fine beginning of lasting social, religious, and cultural foundations under the able leadership of Nóbrega at Bahia in the north, at São Paulo in the south, and finally at Rio de Janeiro. There was official recognition of the Society by the crown as its most important partner in the task of social and moral uplift and the transmission of Lusitanian culture. Rome, too, recognized the importance of the country—the Pope by sending a new bishop, and Ignatius Loyola by changing it from a mission status to a province in 1553. Nóbrega, the Father Provincial from 1553 to 1559, was succeeded by Father Luiz da Grã, who completed his active term in 1565, though his official successor was not appointed until 1571. Inácio de Azevedo, *Visitador*, was in charge in 1566-1568. The period closed with a disastrous blow. Not only did Nóbrega die in 1570, but forty Jesuits led by Azevedo were martyred by pirates on their way to reinforce the province.

⁴¹ *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series I, Vol. II, 304, 307.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 529.

⁴³ Calmon, *História*, I, 211-235; Leite, *História da Companhia*, I, 19-20.

The second period, 1571-1583, one of gradual progress and expansion, has for its luminary the saintly figure of Father José de Anchieta. "The apostle of Brazil" became provincial in 1577, following the incumbency of Father Inigo Tolosa (1572-1577), and officially did not go out of office until 1587. The period appears to lack notable directive leadership, probably because of the crystalization of customs, regulations, and methods then taking place throughout the Jesuit Order in the generalate of Claude Aquaviva. Again, the loss of the forty men in 1570 was followed by a loss of twelve more in 1571. Apparently, the corsairs were bent upon stopping religious progress in Brazil. But five other expeditions arrived safely, bringing in all forty-five missionaries, instructors, and professors.

The third period of organization, from 1583 to the end of the century and beyond, witnessed a reinvigoration and consolidation of Jesuit modes and effort under the outstanding direction of "the second founder of the Province of Brazil," Cristóvão de Gouveia, who sifted good procedures from poorer, applied the patterns of action adopted at Jesuit headquarters in Rome, drew together the threads of three decades of labor in Brazil, and formulated missionary and educational procedures which were to obtain from that time until the expulsion of the Company in 1759. His work is described in detail in the succeeding article.

If the sight of work to be done gave Nóbrega and his companions any joy in the past they may well have looked about them with supreme elation. To the eyes of spiritual men Brazil was a heaven-sent opportunity, even though ordinary folk would have considered it "a vale of tears." Like practical pioneers in any barbaric wilderness the newcomers saw looming a tremendous task of hewing, grubbing, clearing, and planting in the face of hostility from within and from without the Christian fold. The land was young and stubborn; its brawling, willful people were emotionally at the childhood stage, undomesticated in the ways of civilization. The task of clearing meant a rousing attack on cannibalism, paganism, and ignorance of the natives, and on adultery, promiscuity, injustice, and slavery practices of backsliding whites. The planting of the sprouts of civilization would consist of the drudgery of instruction and missionary work. Nóbrega could adopt methods used in Portugal for the whites, sermons and missionary excursions, while for cultivating the natives ingenuity would have to develop ways. The language, customs, susceptibilities, numbers, groupings, alliances, and re-

spective intelligences of the jungle peoples would have to be learned before longer strides toward their elevation could be taken. And so it was done.

Headquarters for the Jesuits, some mud huts built with their own hands, were first established in the old village while foundations were being laid for the new capital of Brazil on the Bay of All Saints, now Salvador. Later in the year Nóbrega chose a site for the newer chapel-dormitory.⁴⁴ Other problems were met, an important one being the means of livelihood for the missionaries and support for the college.⁴⁵ The Portuguese were called to the church or plaza for sermons; groups of Indian and Negro slaves were visited; free natives were gathered for instruction in Christian precepts; smaller boys were taught catechism, singing, Mass prayers, and soon, reading and writing; journeys were made outside the rising city walls for purposes of organizing children of the forest into villages, or *aldeias*. How the system evolved around Bahia and spread elsewhere is too interesting a story to enter upon here in any cursory fashion. It will receive detailed treatment in a later paper.

The Jesuit center grew with the new civic center. The fathers and brothers before the end of 1549 had a class in elementary education for a few sons of colonists and natives. In the following year a "college" or hall for orphans was opened following a pattern set in Lisbon, who joined the other students. The need for buildings firmer than huts was laid before the king in 1551, and an official stonemason was applied to the task of hewing for five years. Latin classes were officially begun in 1553, and some of the new houses with tile roofs were ready in 1555. Word then came to the new governor, Duarte da Costa and to the bishop to establish a regular college. The Jesuit center, or house, heretofore under a superior, in 1556 had its first college rector, Ambrosio Pires. From this time forward it was a question of adding other grammar classes and humanities, and students. These at first were a dozen Indians, some Jesuits, boys sent in by missionaries from the backwoods, boys sent from outlying

⁴⁴ For the plan of Bahia cf. Leite, *História da Companhia*, I, 32.

⁴⁵ The king had assigned the Jesuits 2,400 reis per month for support; this was 600 reis per man, or one cruzado; the cruzado amounted to about \$3.90; the sum was to be paid mostly in foodstuffs and small supplies; this amounts to about 13 cents a day for support. Cabral's salary for a year and a half was 5,000 cruzados, or 4,833 pounds sterling, or 9 cruzados per day. Values fluctuated greatly from 1500 to 1580. The Jesuits in reality were given 2,400 reis in *purchasing power* or in *collecting power*; they were to collect from officials or from estate owners' taxes. See Leite, *História*, I, 107-186, on the finances and means of subsistence of the Society.

estates and coastal settlements, sons of colonists, and "nephews of Caramuru." Higher education began in 1572 with courses in logic, natural sciences, philosophy, and speculative theology, the last in 1578. The Colégio de Jesus da Baía in a substantial building was definitely the hub of Jesuit activities in northern Brazil, offering training to those who developed into teachers, missionaries, citizens, captains, officials, parish priests, writers, professors, and business men. Professors came to its halls from Europe and some went from its halls to European universities. It had a total enrollment of 215 in 1589, from elementary grades to theology, and, since it was the training school of the Jesuits, was ranked as the Colégio Máximo. It had a royal endowment and was privileged to grant degrees. By reason of its origin in 1549 and its two hundred years of enlightening influence it aided much in gaining for Bahia the honor of being "the cradle of Brazilian culture."⁴⁶

Nóbrega during his three years of putting in a firm base at Bahia saw to expansion possibilities in the upper half of coastal Brazil. He made excursions from 1549 to 1552 to Ilhéus and Porto Seguro, respectively 150 and 250 miles south, where later residences and smaller colleges were established, and to Pernambuco, 500 miles north, where after his superiorship another endowed college was founded. Other fathers were sent 500 miles south of Salvador to Espírito Santo to practice ministries, begin *aldeias*, and teach grammar. Moreover, despite the fewness of his numbers, he sent Father Leonardo Nunes on a journey of over a thousand miles south to the land of the Paulistas, to begin work at the other extreme of the vast colony and thus to aid and abet the organization program of Sousa. This padre left for the captaincy of São Vicente on November 1, 1549, and put in at the bay of Todos os Santos some weeks later.

Father Nunes brought his school with him—ten or twelve small boys. He began to teach them in the village of São Vicente on an island in the bay. Large estates, *fazendas*, occupying the circumference of the bay furnished some other students. Beyond the bay were mountains and beyond the mountains were fertile valleys and plains. Into these Nunes scurried, gaining for himself the name of "the flying father" and the "first apostle of the

⁴⁶ These paragraphs are the gist of what Father Leite tells admirably, I, 47-104, with ample documentary citations. For information on the influence of this and other colleges see *Revista do Instituto Histórico*, Primeiro Congresso de História Nacional, 1914, Primeira These Oficial, 635-673, "Qual a influência dos jesuitas em nossas letras?" by Dr. Eugênio Vilhena de Moraes.

State of São Paulo," while drawing other boys from the friendly Indian villages to the island for reading, writing, catechism, and possibly Latin. When Nóbrega arrived here in early 1553 to organize the second Jesuit center he was welcomed by eighty in the school including the few Jesuits. The school was officially inaugurated on February 2, 1553, as the Colégio dos Meninos.⁴⁷

But this island village was not a nice place for the projected center of culture. Pirates were one danger, slave raiders another, and bad example in morals a third. Far better for his purpose was the country fifteen leagues away over the mountains, removed from scandal to convert Indians, fine for producing food, and excellent for missionary work. Consequently, a site was selected and Indians from several villages brought to it. At the end of the year other Jesuits arrived including young José de Anchieta, still in his studies. In the ships bringing him were the second Governor General, Duarte da Costa, and Father Luiz da Grã, and letters patent from Ignatius Loyola naming Nóbrega as provincial, and Brazil a province of the Company. The Jesuits gathered together for Mass in the new settlement beyond the mountains on January 25, 1554, feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, and because of this they named it São Paulo de Piratininga. Thus Nóbrega laid the foundations of the great southern city of Brazil around the Jesuit Colégio de São Paulo.⁴⁸

From this time forward the college building on the plain was the center of religious life, while around it were unified social and civil affairs of the vast land. Within the walls of the Jesuit grounds and buildings all classes of people found a haven in times of public distress, a hospital and clinic during epidemics, a bulwark in times of hostile raids, a gathering place on all festive occasions, and a theatre for pageants and dramas. All of the more widely known fathers, missionaries and teachers, spent some time here. Colonists thriving under its direction and protection supported the institution by gifts and alms. Men from its halls went to nearby villages and to other cities to aid in the cultural advance and to continue the moral and social regeneration of the south of Brazil and later in the north.

Still, Nóbrega was not satisfied with either São Vicente or São Paulo for his program of higher education. Both of these colégios were destined to become feeders to the College of Rio de Janeiro, which came into being in the following fashion. Nóbrega stopped at the beautiful bay in 1553 and beheld its

⁴⁷ Leite, *História*, I, 254-255.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 271, 277.

possibilities. The French were there—Huguenots who might sally forth from their fort to attack Portuguese shipping, or might convert the natives to Protestantism. For these reasons and because of his desire to organize a city and *aldeias* around the harbor, he became the inspiration of the move toward complete control by the Portuguese.⁴⁰ First on a dangerous mission in 1553 he sought to establish an alliance between the Tamóios Indians around Rio and the Tupis around São Paulo. He gathered hundreds of Indians of both tribes in the Jesuit church of São Paulo to achieve this triumph. But in November 1555 Villegagnon built his strong Fort Coligny on an island close to the mouth of the harbor of Rio, thus dividing the colony of Brazil in two parts and winning over the numerous Tamóios. On this settlement the Portuguese with Tupi allies converged. In a great battle they scattered the Huguenot colony. The French attributed this defeat of 1560 to Nóbrega and his Jesuits.

The Jesuit leader, relieved of his cares as provincial in 1559 by Luiz da Grã, urged the establishment of a firm colony. In 1565 this was done by Estácio da Sá, whose colonists and soldiers were augmented by Nóbrega, Anchieta, and Piratininga Indians. Two years later the final transfer of the settlement was made to Morro do Castelo. The petition of Nóbrega to found a central college here was granted in 1567 by the visitor, Ignatius Azevedo, who named the former provincial as first rector. Nóbrega then brought fathers from São Vicente and São Paulo for the work of organization of the *aldeias* and school. But the great founder died in 1570 without enjoying much the sight of the great fruits of the College of Rio. The Province of Brazil was well grounded in his time. After his incumbency as provincial there was gradual growth and spread to other cities and villages as Grã and Anchieta carried on. Still, an adjustment was taking place within the Society in Europe. How the efforts of the Jesuits in Brazil were brought into coordination with those of missionaries and educators elsewhere is told in the following paper.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 389. For the conquest and foundation of Rio de Janeiro see *ibid.*, 361-389, and the authorities cited therein.

Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil

In the year 1546, the Jesuit Francisco Estrada preached at Pôrto, and a young Portuguese nobleman, who was then thirty years of age, listened and was deeply impressed. This gentleman was Henrique Nunes de Gouveia, born in the Ilhas in the year 1516. He had married Beatriz Madureira, also of noble birth, in Pôrto. During his early years he had lived a life of leisure among the higher nobility, in an age when the ruling classes were wallowing in the wealth then pouring in from India. But like many other young men throughout Europe, he too had been watching with interest and admiration the activities of the newly organized Society of Jesus.¹ After hearing Father Estrada, he soon withdrew from politics, and from the great halls of feasting and sociability, and devoted his time and money to charity: the support of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia, and the visiting of hospitals, the poor, and the infirm. He introduced his sons into the same religious atmosphere which gradually came to dominate his life, taking them with him on his many visits to charitable institutions. Indeed, when Father Estrada left Pôrto, Henrique Nunes virtually became the spiritual father of the place, and his home, formerly the center of society typical of sixteenth-century European noble frivolity, took on the appearance of a monastery, and some made fun of him for his intense religious enthusiasm. In his zeal he became a great benefactor of the Jesuits, donating to them his house and property in Pôrto, and making possible the beginning of the Jesuit college there. St. Francis Borgia was a guest at his home, for whom his young son Cristóvão de Gouveia often served at Mass in the family chapel. Henrique Nunes greatly influenced the lives of his three sons. His enthusiasm for the Society was transmitted also to his friends, and among others he is credited with bringing into the Society Inacio de Azevedo, the first Jesuit visitor to Brazil, and one of the forty martyrs of 1570. At the age of forty-five, having raised his family, two of his sons to be Jesuits, he himself desired to enter the Society. His wife and daughters, of equal piety, agreed in the plan that he enter the Society and they enter the Convent of Santa Clara. While obtaining permission from

¹ Francisco Rodrigues, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, Pôrto, 1931, Tomo I, Vol. I, 431-477, describes the rapid growth and influence of the Jesuits in Portugal from the outset.

the Father General in Rome, Henrique Nunes fell ill and died, but only after his deathbed wish to be permitted to die a brother in the Society had been granted. In his will he left much of his property to the Jesuits.² In this religious atmosphere his sons were raised.³

Cristóvão de Gouveia was born in Pôrto, January 8, 1542.⁴ At the age of fourteen, fulfilling the wishes of his father, he was accompanied by the latter to Coimbra, where he entered as a novice in the Society on January 10, 1556. Completing his studies at Coimbra and Evora, as master of novices at the latter institution he helped train some fifteen of the famous forty who were martyred at the hands of French pirates in 1570. Later he was rector of the College of Bragança. At the time the province was in dire financial straits, and there was talk of abandoning the college, a plan which would have been carried out had it not been for Gouveia's convincing arguments. With faith and hope in the future of the college, he not only won his point but was correct in his judgment. Here we catch the first glimpse of that administrative foresight which was to serve so well the Jesuit organization. Under similar circumstances he laid the first stone of the new building for the College of Santo Antão in Lisbon in 1579. Here, amid a mountain of difficulties and contradictory views, with almost unbelievable energy he saw the college through to success. Later he served as the companion to the

² Antonio Franco, S. J., *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal* [1715], Pôrto, 1930, 153-155; Serafim Leite, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, Lisbon, 1938, II, 489-490.

³ Cristóvão's younger brother João, generally known as João de Madsureira, entered the Society at Coimbra, at the age of thirteen, on October 25, 1561. He became a famous preacher, and among his various duties he served as rector of the College of Santo Antão, and later rector of the house of São Roque. He spent much time instructing children, a work which gave him much more consolation than administrative tasks. Noted for his virtue and spirituality, yet in religious humility he scourged himself daily. He died off the coast of Biscay on October 5, 1601, while on his way to America as third Jesuit visitor to Brazil. Leite, II, 565-567; Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*, introduction and notes by Baptista Caetano, Capistrano de Abreu, and Rodolfo Garcia, second edition, São Paulo, 1939, 328 (hereinafter cited as Cardim, *Tratados*, the direct reference being Cardim's *Narrativa Epistolar*, contained therein, the pagination given according to this edition); *Cartas Jesuíticas*, III, *Cartas . . . do Padre Joseph de Anchieta . . .*, edited by Antonio de Alcantara Machado, Rio de Janeiro, 1933, 406, hereinafter cited as *Cartas Jesuíticas*, III.

⁴ Rodolfo Garcia, in Cardim, *Tratados*, 327, giving the traditionally accepted date. Leite, II, 489, gives the date as January 3, 1537. Brief biographical sketches of his life may be found in Leite, II, 489-493; Franco, 153-155; Elisban de Guilhermy, S. J., *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jesus, Assistance de Portugal*, Poitiers, 1867, I, 153-155; *Cartas Jesuíticas*, III, 405-406, note 527; Cardim, *Tratados*, 327-329, note 2; Rodrigues, *História*, I, 1, 451-452.

father provincial of the Jesuit province of Portugal. While serving in this capacity he was chosen, at a most critical period in Lusitanian history, as the second visitor of the Society to the Brazilian mission, a vineyard already well cultivated for some three decades by Nóbrega, Anchieta, Grã, Azevedo, and their companions.

Thus, after some twenty years of service in Portugal, during which time through administrative ability, sound judgment, charity, and stability of character, he had come to be a trusted adviser in important matters of the province, he was called upon to make smooth the transition of Jesuit activity in Brazil from Portuguese to Spanish political authority (in 1580 Portugal and her overseas dominions had been incorporated into the Spanish empire), and to put in order the affairs of Brazil, first child of Jesuit effort in America, in line with the more unified policy of the evolving and expanding Society of Jesus, now just in its forty-third year of existence. Gouveia had all the high qualities of heart and intelligence, above all a rare talent for organizing and governing. His vision was broad, his nature conciliatory and understanding, but in matters of principle he was unswerving. Lack of financial resources were to him no obstacle to pursuit of a noble purpose. Named visitor to Brazil by patent of July 23, 1582, Gouveia was soon to receive deservedly the title of "second founder of this mission."⁵

Let us digress for a moment, to describe briefly the office of *visitador*, or visitor, in the Jesuit administrative organization. Besides the ordinary resident superiors, special visitors were sent to the various provinces (or territorial units into which the organization is grouped) by the Father General whenever he considered an inspection necessary, or when the province requested one.

The *visitador* had any authority of jurisdiction over the members of the province visited which the general saw fit to delegate. His duties as outlined were to urge the members to unity and to charity, to apostolic labors, and to observance of the Constitutions. He was to smooth difficulties; he was to confer with each subject, and finally was to submit an accurate report to the general concerning the condition of the province.⁶

Thus the office of visitor was an important one in the administrative scheme of the Society.

⁵ Leite, II, 490-493; Franco, 81; Guilhermy, I, 154.

⁶ Jerome V. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain*, Berkeley, 1938, 14.

When the Jesuits first entered Brazil in 1549, the Constitutions of the Society were not yet definitely drawn up and promulgated. This was accomplished in 1556, year of the death of the founder Ignatius, and that year they reached Brazil. Up to that time the members of the Society were governed by instructions from Rome and Portugal. Since it was desirable to send to Brazil someone fully conversant with the laws, to put them into practice, Father Inacio de Azevedo had been sent by the Father General St. Francis Borgia, as first visitor of the province. Azevedo found Brazil in transition: as Father Francisco Pires wrote, "the time of tearful planting" was passing, and "the time of joyfully gathering the harvest" was at hand.⁷ Rome and Lisbon were enthusiastic over the successful beginnings. Azevedo carried forward important work of reorganization, putting into operation the Constitutions and the rules and decrees of the first General Congregation. Returning to Portugal in 1568, he did not tarry long, and in 1570 was on his way back to Brazil with thirty-nine companions, only to die with them in the mass martyrdom at the hands of pirates. Between 1566 and the appointment of Gouveia as second visitor in 1582, the overseas missionary activity of the Jesuits had expanded considerably, two general congregations of the Society had met, new orders and regulations in line with experiences and general policies had evolved. The expansion of Jesuit activity in the New World was one of the highlights of Aquaviva's administration as Father General of the Society. In this connection, the brilliant success of the Jesuits in their pioneer work in Africa, India, and Brazil undoubtedly influenced Philip II to open to the militant missionary order the vast dominions of Spanish America: first in Florida, then in Mexico and Peru, and in Aquaviva's time in Paraguay, New Granada, and the Philippines. And despite the fact that Portugal and her empire were now subject to Philip II and his royal patronage, and Spain and her traditional overseas dominions were the favored sections of the empire, the general Spanish policy of reserving Spanish colonies for the Spaniards and Portuguese colonies for the Portuguese, left undisturbed the normal development of Brazil, and the continued successful social, cultural, and religious efforts of the Jesuits there. From the point of view of the Jesuits, the period of the political unity of Hispanic America under Philip II offered more advantages than

⁷ *Cartas Jesuíticas*, II, *Cartas Avulsas*, 1550-1568, edited by Afrânio Peixoto, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, 17. Hereinafter cited as *Cartas Jesuíticas*, II.

obstacles to their work. Able direction of the vast and growing Jesuit missionary enterprise in America was essential for continued success, and Jesuit overseas missionary activity was only now passing from the stage of preliminary experimentation to more or less fixed policy in matters of detail peculiar to place and circumstances.

Before Visitor Gouveia set out for Brazil, Aquaviva gave him special instructions, the *Instrucción Particular* . . . , outlining the dual purpose of his mission: first, the consolation and encouragement of the members working in the sterile, and dangerous Brazilian vineyard; second, to inspect religious discipline in the province in order to assure strict obedience to the Institute, the Constitutions, the rules and regulations emanating from Rome, and to correct and better existing conditions where necessary. Aquaviva pointed out that from Brazilian reports Anchieta, the Jesuit provincial, and others were irregular in their observance of the Constitutions. Among other things, in giving medical assistance to his Indian charges, Anchieta, with excessive charity, frequently, to be sure, had gone beyond the conventional limits of the Jesuit in the rôle of amateur doctor. The Instructions touched on all important Jesuit activities, realistically aimed at making the visitation as useful as possible.⁸

Gouveia and his companions (Fathers Fernão Cardim, historian of the visitation, and Rodrigo de Freitas, Brother Barnabé Tello, and the novice Martim Vaz) left Lisbon on March 5, 1583, on the same ship that was carrying the new governor general of Brazil, Manuel Teles Barreto, first appointee under the new Spanish regime. Events of the voyage across the Atlantic are recorded in Cardim's now classic *Narrativa Epistolar*, a sort of diary of the visitation. Arriving at Bahia on May 9, without any untoward incident, Gouveia immediately turned his attention to the enormous task before him.⁹ In the course of the next five years he was to visit every Jesuit residence in the far-flung province. During that time he was the highest Jesuit superior in the province, his instructions and regulations carrying the full authority of his office, subject only to the final decision of higher authorities of the Society in Rome. Tirelessly observing, consulting, counseling, instructing and regulating, the work of reorganizing the sprawling mission—grown to vast proportions since Nóbrega's day—was carried forward with brilliant success. Gouveia's reforms and legislation touched on every aspect of

⁸ Leite, II, 490.

⁹ Cardim, *Tratados*, 250, 252.

Jesuit activity: matters pertaining to the observance of rules, the internal regime of the Society, the administering of the sacraments, economic support, education in the colleges, religious instruction, the Indian *aldeias*, the missions, Indian slavery, relations between Church and state, general social, ethical, and religious matters, construction, the advancement of science, letters, and the arts, and missionary expansion.

Prior to the 1580's, as we have seen, only one Jesuit visitor had been sent to Brazil, Father Azevedo in 1566, the year following the second General Congregation of the Society. One of the primary motives for sending the second visitor, Gouveia, was to see that the Institute and the Constitutions were being carried out and were fully understood. Little by little they were explained and interpreted among the members of the Society in Brazil. Besides, there are in each Jesuit province a number of practices and usages determined by circumstances of place and conditions. These regional usages, legitimately introduced and approved by superiors, were an evolutionary development, and they underwent considerable modification in the course of time. The rules and instructions drawn up by Gouveia during his visitation henceforth came to constitute the general usage of the province. They were further modified in the early eighteenth century, but remained essentially the same until the Suppression.¹⁰

Local rules for the internal regime of the Society were carefully drawn up in the greatest detail by the second visitor.¹¹ Those regulating the daily order in each Jesuit community were re-examined and revised, and their strict observance re-emphasized. Among Gouveia's instructions was one to promote prayer among the members, and to see to it that idleness was completely absent. Not the slightest detail in the daily life of the members was overlooked. For example, in Brazil it was not uncommon to go barefoot, because of the climate, regardless of social class. The saintly Anchieta, clad in his tattered cassock, scarcely ever wore protection for his feet on his many and arduous journeys. Gouveia recommended that the members of the Society should never go without shoes, "because it is dangerous to the health." It was the duty of the provincial to visit each residence of the province annually, but since this was virtually impossible in extensive Brazil, the Father General said that it could be done every two years, and another member could be delegated to make

¹⁰ Leite, II, 416-418.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 398-423.

the visitation the year between. Gouveia introduced this new rule, and determined that when the provincial did not visit the captaincies this should be done by the rector of the college at Rio de Janeiro for the south, and by the rector at Bahia in respect to Ilheus and Porto Seguro under similar circumstances.

Despite his many illnesses, now more frequent in his later years, Anchieta accompanied Gouveia on nearly all of the visitation of the various residences and *aldeia* establishments of the province, not doing so only when severe illness prevented. It was purely in a spirit of charity that Gouveia spoke of Anchieta's illnesses as an obstacle to the efficient carrying out of his administrative duties as provincial.

A keen judge of men, and full of human understanding and common sense, Gouveia settled many minor personal matters among members of the Society to the consolation and satisfaction of all concerned. Father Vicente Rodrigues, a most successful missionary who, ill, wished to return to Portugal in 1585, was persuaded to remain, and was to labor fifteen more years in the Brazilian vineyard until his death in Rio. There was the delicate matter of avoiding possible national ill-feeling between some of the members of Spanish and Portuguese blood, due to the political vicissitudes involved in the loss of Portugal's independent sovereignty in 1580, as well as other personal matters. Father Luiz da Fonseca was criticized for being too rigid and austere, both within the order (having whipped a brother with a wet whip for punishment), and in his dealings with the civil authorities (having brought about unnecessary friction with the corrupt Governor Teles Barreto). Again, undoubtedly speaking shrewdly and yet betraying a certain continental air, Gouveia remarked that it was characteristic of those raised in Brazil to let errors and imperfections go too far, and not to look sufficiently far into the future.¹²

Among the important domestic problems of the Jesuits was that of economic support. The Portuguese Crown always enthusiastically supported Jesuit activities, and royal funds were officially set aside for their financial assistance in Brazil. But local authorities were neither efficient nor honest in carrying out royal wishes. Although the Crown assumed the duty of helping to support the work of the Jesuits, never did the latter receive an endowment sufficient to guarantee the success of their work;

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 67; II, 403, 404-412, 422, 458, 482; *id.*, *Páginas de História do Brasil*, São Paulo, 1937, 140-141.

indeed, in order to avoid excessive indebtedness, they were forced to seek other means of support. Gouveia had special instructions to attempt to improve this vexing situation. The first problem was the disproportion between income and expenditures. By royal stipulation, each father and brother of the Society in Brazil received 20,000 réis annually. Double that amount would have been insufficient to finance the multiplicity of Jesuit activities in education, evangelization of the Indians, and social and moral uplift. Besides the one hundred and thirty Jesuits in Brazil who received support from the Crown to the extent given above (Bahia—60, Rio—50, Pernambuco—20), there were now ten more on *aldeias* in the interior, teaching and catechizing the Indians. The king had been notified of the Jesuits residing at *aldeias*, and on November 30, 1582, he had ordered that the ten be given the same financial assistance as the others "for one year," until further data from Brazil should necessitate modification of the order.¹³

In his effort to place the Brazilian mission on a more stable economic basis, Gouveia had to work almost singlehanded, for he received no cooperation from Governor Teles Barreto and Bishop D. Antonio Barreiros. The reports they sent back to the king were unfavorable. Under these difficult conditions Gouveia took the matter in hand. He made a study of the resources of the land, potential income, and the exact character and extent of royal support. He knew from experience the abuses of local treasury officials and he hoped to remedy the situation. The results of his careful and profound study constitute a remarkable document. It gives a clear picture of colonial bureaucracy at work, with local officials using their posts primarily for personal gain, at the expense of the central government and the missionaries.

Gouveia's report is divided into four parts.¹⁴ First, he wrote, the endowments or rents of the colleges of Bahia and Rio, in the manner in which they were collected, were not in conformity with the Constitutions of the Society, for they assumed the character of stipends for religious services rendered. He set forth three reasons to show that the royal grants to the colleges were made purely in the sense of salary payment: the king was giving

¹³ Leite, I, 118-119.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; "O que pareceu ao Padre Cristóvão de Gouveia, Visitador da Província do Brasil, que se deve propor a Nosso Padre acerca das fundações do colégio da Baía e Rio de Janeiro . . ." *Brasília*, II, 330-331, *Archivum Societatis Iesu Romanum* (ASJR), Rome, published in Leite, I, 119-125.

financial assistance to the Jesuits as an act of conscience, since, in taking the tithe from the land it was incumbent upon him to further the conversion of the Indians, as many royal decrees stipulated; just as he paid salaries to the secular hierarchy to fulfill his obligation and to further the spiritual needs of the Portuguese, so in the same spirit he ordered the Jesuits paid for the conversion of the natives and the establishment of Indian parishes, to the extent of 20,000 réis for each of sixty religious at Bahia and fifty at Rio, and requested an annual report on the number of Jesuits at each college in order to determine how much to pay them; Christian Indians living on Jesuit *aldeias* were obliged to pay the tithe, and when the Jesuits protested that the Indians should not pay tithes since they supported the *aldeia* establishments, the king had answered that he had the right to collect them since he had provided ministers for them (namely, the Jesuits). Gouveia pointed out that this was the common view held in Brazil, and the contention was that the Jesuits were in duty bound to live on the *aldeias* throughout the captaincies, for which they were well paid by the king; none of this, Gouveia indicated, was in conformity with the Institute of the Society; lastly, the king had recently sent a letter to the Bishop requesting him to report the number of Jesuits in Brazil, and whether they needed more or less men and rents.

In the second part of his report, Gouveia insisted that the Society received inadequate financial aid in Brazil: the royal support received was scarcely sufficient to run the colleges; extensive property had been destroyed by French pirates; the members of the Society were obliged to till their land and raise livestock for subsistence; much more than the 20,000 réis per member was needed, for when the king set this figure the revenues from Brazil were small, whereas now they were large and living costs had doubled and even tripled, hence under existing conditions the members of the Society lacked many essentials even of food and clothing.

The third point the Visitor discussed was that of the problems involved in attempting actually to obtain from the local authorities what funds were granted by the Crown. He recommended that the method of making such payment should be changed. As it was, the governor or *provedor-mor* ordered the treasurer to pay the Jesuits the sum stipulated by royal decree, then began the delicate feat, accompanied by abuse and difficulties, of attempting to obtain these officially authorized col-

lections. A number of abuses were listed which the Visitor felt should be corrected. He showed how when the time came to collect the royal support authorized, the Jesuits delegated to perform the task were sent from one official to another, receiving alibis and delays, sometimes succeeding in obtaining the funds in small installments, at other times being insulted and sent off empty-handed. Gouveia gave two explanations for this state of affairs: the unfriendliness of the local officials because the Jesuits tried to protect the Indians from enslavement and abuse, which was an obstacle to profits from slave labor, and secondly, their primary aim to accumulate as much wealth as possible for themselves while in office. Under these circumstances the Jesuits could never count on the Crown rents, and were forced to buy on credit and thereby pay double. When by chance payment was prompt, it was usually in goods the local authorities wished to get rid of, and of which the Jesuits had no need. The College of Bahia was already 4,000 *cruzados* in debt because of delays in payments. All this, said Gouveia, had a bad moral effect, and was the cause of public scandal, for in view of the constant quibbling with the governor over these matters, the people, led to follow the viewpoint of the officials, were given the impression that the Jesuits were interested only in living well and afraid to lose a few cents.

To avoid to some extent these various inconveniences, Gouveia offered to Father General Aquaviva the following six suggestions: (1) the king should order his rent collectors in Brazil to pay the Jesuits the rents due them by official decree, and the Jesuit *conservador* or the royal *ouvidor* should have authority to compel payment, (2) the king should grant to the Society rentals from monasteries in Portugal to the extent of 5,500 *cruzados*, the endowment of the colleges of Bahia and Rio, to avoid the vicissitudes and misunderstandings in Brazil, (3) the king should permit that the two colleges of Bahia and Rio be paid in sugar as in the case of Pernambuco, without interference of local officials, (4) the royal treasury pay in Portugal the sums past due owed to the colleges in Brazil, (5) royal provision should be made to permit the Jesuit *conservador* in Brazil to introduce proceedings against the local treasury official when the latter refused to pay promptly, and lastly, (6) the *redizima* of the rents of the land endowed by the Crown to the Jesuit college of Bahia should be granted without limitations, since having been granted completely, it was later limited to the extent that the Society

could collect on it only to the amount of 3,000 *cruzados*, even though general economic changes had brought higher living costs since the time the grant was made; the 20,000 réis per religious had much less value now than when originally granted. Gouveia added that if the king were willing to grant any of these requests, it should be stipulated that the rents, in the form of goods, be set aside from the royal rents and applied in perpetuity to the church, and collected directly by the Society from the producers concerned without interference by local royal officials, as in the case of the *redizima* of the captaincies.

The Visitor sent letters to his superiors in Portugal and Rome supporting the minute financial report outlined above. At the same time he decided to admit no one into the Society in Brazil who did not exceptionally satisfy every requirement, this in order to avoid further indebtedness, for the Society in Brazil could not afford to support new candidates unrestrictedly. Strict orders were drawn up to assure economy in food eaten in the various Jesuit communities. The Visitor's reforms and proposals were agreed upon at the Provincial Congregation held in Bahia in 1583, and sent to the Father General, who would bring these matters to the attention of the king. But all was in vain, for Governor Teles Barreto at Bahia, and Gabriel Soares at the Spanish court, were unfriendly.¹⁵ This uncooperative attitude of lesser royal officials diminished considerably with the death of Teles Barreto in 1587. His successor in office carried instructions from King Philip II urging full financial support of those engaged in the conversion of the heathen, "with special respect in this matter for the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who inaugurated this work in which they have been so long engaged . . . and for their support you shall pay them well from my annual income in accord with my orders."¹⁶

In the course of events there was to be no satisfactory solution of the problem until the following century, when finally, in 1604, in pursuing the claims first introduced by Gouveia in 1583-1584, definite orders were issued by the king assuring the payment of current and past financial obligations due the Society in Brazil. It was decided to make payment from the *redizimas* from sugar. The nineteenth-century Brazilian historian Varnhagen, expressing the viewpoint of the era in which he wrote, refers to these orders as "scandalous." Equally authoritative

¹⁵ Leite, I, 125.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 126.

Brazilian historians of more recent date, such as Capistrano de Abreu, take a different view. Objectively considered, the matter does not in reality lend itself to subjective controversy. The fact is that in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain and Portugal protection and support of missionary work were a recognized part of government policy. The Pope had confided to the kings of Spain and Portugal the duty of converting pagans in their overseas conquests. Portugal and Spain had officially assumed the vicariate of evangelizing their colonies. The Portuguese Crown, and Spain from 1580 to 1640, were fostering Jesuit missionary activity in order to further this enterprise of instruction, conversion, civilization, and defense of the Indians of Brazil, and officially designated an endowment to support them. Under these conditions, then, there is no basis for subjective controversy as to whether or not the Jesuits had a right to collect funds officially authorized by the Crown. Furthermore, it seems only fair to keep in mind that this royal aid helped support not only the Jesuit college and *aldeia* establishments of Brazil, some of the latter in barren outlying areas throughout the captaincies, but by the end of the century even missionary activity outside Brazil that was difficult to support, "such as Angola."¹⁷

Since the affairs of the college at Rio were handled in great part from the capital, Gouveia ordered in 1589 that at Bahia there should be "a priest of prudence and authority, named by the provincial, to handle the affairs of the college of Rio de Janeiro and exact payments due."¹⁸ The Visitor pointed out the advisability of stationing in Lisbon a father and a brother for Brazil, which office, however, did not come into being until the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁹

The fact remains that in the sixteenth century the attitude of local royal functionaries, bent on using their positions to build up a private fortune, made the payment of rents granted by the Crown to the Society an uncertain game of chance. The Jesuits were forced to seek other means of support. Lands donated by friends, or purchased for the purpose, provided a certain amount of tillage and pasture. Fruits and vegetables were raised in the gardens of all the Jesuit residences and from all reports they grew magnificently in Brazilian climes. Gouveia, his companion Cardim, and other early Jesuit writers, also frequently refer to cattle, livestock, chickens, ducks, and swine

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 129.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 116, note 6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 135, 142.

raised on their lands and on the *aldeias* under their care. It was a policy of self-support introduced by Nóbrega. He had purchased twelve young heifers in 1552; by the 1580's "Nóbrega's cows" had multiplied to the extent that none had to be purchased, and in 1589 Gouveia gave orders that five hundred cows on the hoof should always be maintained.²⁰

Finally, there was the question of the boat. The economic problems connected with the maintenance of a Jesuit ship were unique to the Brazilian mission. Regular communications in Brazil, composed of a long thin line of Atlantic seaboard settlements, were by water. With the exception of São Paulo, all missionary activity, as well as the spread of agriculture and cattle raising, radiated into the interior from coastal centers, and even São Paulo was dependent on the port of São Vicente or Santos. The provincial, to visit canonically the various Jesuit establishments, had to go by sea. Nóbrega and Grã made their first provincial visitations on royal armadas, but this involved irregularity because of dependence upon the schedule of the ships. In 1575 King Sebastião ordered the governors of the captaincies of Brazil to provide boat transportation to the provincial triennially, and later decided that the royal treasury pay for these trips, the sum being fixed by the king at 80,000 réis every three years. Visitor Gouveia reported in 1583 that this sum was inadequate. The king in 1589 increased the triennial royal grant to 100,000 réis.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits decided that it would be more practical to have their own boat, to be built at their own expense and maintained by the royal grant. To pay initial costs passengers were accepted. The plan did not receive the unanimous approval of the members, and the Father General ordered Anchieta, then provincial, to sell the boat, stating that the method of its maintenance took on the undesirable character of engaging in commerce. It was one of Gouveia's duties to settle this problem. After consultation and investigation he decided that the ship should not be sold, and issued orders with regard to its use and maintenance. No women passengers should be accepted; ship supplies should be provided at the cost of the college to be

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 174, 177. See also *ibid.*, I, 139-140. On July 25, 1583, Gouveia wrote that charges had been preferred against the Jesuits for utilizing land that did not belong to them at Camamu, one of the most important properties of the College of Bahia. The Visitor found that these complaints were justified, for the boundaries were not marked, and as he had a license from the king to fix the boundary he did so to the satisfaction of the claimants. *Ibid.*, I, 155-156.

visited, and maintained by that college while at anchor there; only the salaries of the crew and the costs of general maintenance of the ship should be paid by the province, which was to get the revenue from passengers and freight carried, and when this was insufficient, the balance should be paid *pro rata* at the end of each year by the three Jesuit colleges at the ratio of 60 (Bahia), 50 (Rio), 20 (Pernambuco); each college should also provide, on the same *pro rata* basis, the slaves necessary for service on the boat. In 1592 the Jesuits added a second boat against emergency. And English pirates took one that year. Toward the end of the century Father Beliarde, when provincial, sold the other and had a lighter and smaller vessel made, with six oars on each side, capable of escaping swiftly when attacked by pirates.²¹

In short, through Gouveia's efforts the economic basis of Jesuit activities in Brazil was greatly improved. Orders were issued to cope with the existing problems in the most satisfactory manner possible, and financial records were drawn up which are now of inestimable value to students of Brazilian Jesuit history and colonial economy.

Gouveia's reforms in education and instruction reveal many sidelights on college life in sixteenth-century Brazil. In 1586 he recommended that superiors of the colleges should insist on regular attendance by members of the Society, both teachers and students, at public classes, and that activities which took too much time from studies should be carefully regulated. Plays given out of class, *Coplas* in Portuguese composed at the schools, student processions, and the use of fireworks at celebrations should be permitted only with special authorization of the provincial. All these extracurricular activities were not suppressed, but were checked to the extent of maintaining more orderly study without too many distractions from the desired cultivation of letters and Latin. Gouveia noted in Bahia that some of the brothers were busy with matters foreign to study, and thus lost interest in their class work. Efforts were made to correct this abuse. As good observers, the fathers explained this situation by the exotic tropical surroundings, so conducive to laziness and indolence, which was the reason also for the predilection of those born in Brazil for festivities, singing, and playing. Occasionally guests from the city were received at the Jesuit villa outside Bahia, but to avoid distraction on the part of the students, during the holidays the only guests permitted were the governor

²¹ Leite, I, 169-171.

general, the bishop, and a few special friends and benefactors. Gouveia had many building improvements made, making it a beautiful place of recreation. This was the Quinta do Tanque, later made famous by Father Antonio Vieira, who spent his last years there.²²

The daily schedule for classes in the colleges were slightly modified by Gouveia. From the beginning classes took up two hours in the morning and two more in the afternoon. He urged anew the two and a half hour periods, leaving in 1586 orders that in classes of Latin, writing, and the arts, the longer periods devoted to class work should be introduced, classes to begin at seven o'clock in the summer, and eight o'clock in the winter. In 1586 the arrival of the first draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* was announced in Brazil. Meanwhile, the Visitor reorganized the courses in theology in the colleges for members of the Society, dividing the courses into moral and speculative, based on St. Thomas Aquinas. With regard to the studies in cases of conscience, which always existed in the Jesuit houses of Brazil, Gouveia ordered in 1586 such conferences held at each college two or three times a week. Measures were taken to maintain college studies at a high standard. When Gouveia arrived in Brazil there were six professors of theology, arts, and humanities at the colleges. These were trained in Portugal, but from his time forward greater dependence was placed on those trained in Brazil for teaching the more elementary classes. At the close of the sixteenth century there was a respectable faculty of twelve professors in the three key colleges of Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Pernambuco, some of them alumni, and all capable of teaching theology, arts, and humanities in any respectable university of Europe or America.²³

The externs enrolled in the Jesuit colleges, that is, the outside students as distinct from the student members of the Society, were drawn principally from the population of the cities in which the three colleges were located. Interns resided at the colleges of Bahia and Rio, pursuing a policy successfully inaugurated at Goa, in India, but there were no such facilities in Pernambuco. In order to extend educational facilities to the sons of Portuguese who lived in the extensive rural settlements around Pernambuco, Gouveia proposed to the Father General the erection of a college or seminary there. The Father General was

²² *Ibid.*, I, 73, 83, 96.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 74-75, 77, 87-88.

favorable and requested further data, but the idea was ahead of the times in Brazil's cultural process, and got no hope of co-operation from Governor Teles Barreto.²⁴

Gouveia inaugurated some modifications with regard to the important work of Indian conversion and the regime of the Jesuit *aldeia* establishments. Egocentric cynics and confirmed slavers were never lacking who claimed that it was impossible to catechize and elevate the Indians of Brazil. The Jesuits, on the contrary, believed that slow progress meant only that greater efforts must be exerted. The *aldeias* were similar to what are generally referred to in other parts of colonial Hispanic America as Indian missions. In the *aldeia* schools the Indian children were taught reading and writing in Portuguese, arithmetic, and singing. In 1586 Gouveia made the general regulation that these classes be held morning and evening, each class lasting one hour and a half. He further ordered that on no occasion should the children be punished by the teacher's own hand.²⁵ Gouveia was impressed by the dramatic qualities of the Indians, whom he compared to the Romans in their respect for eloquence in speech.

In order to settle some of the questions raised in the course of Gouveia's visitation, Governor Teles Barreto called a Junta in December 1583 to discuss the matter of *aldeia* jurisdiction—an august gathering attended by himself, the bishop, the *provedor-mor*, and the Jesuits Gouveia, Anchieta, and Fonseca—and an accord was drawn up. In actual practice the Jesuits exercised both spiritual and temporal jurisdiction on the *aldeias* under their charge; when the civil authorities were friendly to the Society no specific juridical rights were required, otherwise there were diverse interpretations and conflict. To avoid the latter, which was showing its head in the unfriendly regime of Teles Barreto, Gouveia intervened energetically. He insisted that either the king should issue an express order fixing the jurisdiction of the Jesuits, or the Society would find it necessary to abandon the *aldeias* if it had to wait on the "special favor of the governor and the courts." Royal support of the Visitor's stand was slow in coming, but it came. In turn, in the accord of 1583 the Jesuits agreed not to harbor fugitive Indian slaves on their *aldeias*. Three years later the Visitor established this as law in instructions to the missionaries, stating that Indian fugitives must be returned to their masters. This rule was maintained inviolate until 1592.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 82; II, 514.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 10, 26.

Gouveia further recommended in 1589 that no Jesuit should interfere in affairs of justice already settled by the civil authorities, except to promote peace. Despite this latter recommendation, the Indians usually sought the assistance of the Jesuits when delinquent, in order to obtain their intervention for leniency.²⁶

With regard to the use of Indians from the Jesuit *aldeias* by the Portuguese for menial work, there was much abuse. Following Gouveia's visitation, these Indians were permitted to work for whomever they pleased, Jesuits or Portuguese settlers, but for specified periods only, and for wages. Thus a basic work contract was required. Here was a definite social gain. The Visitor specifically ordered that *aldeia* Indians could not be loaned out to work for colonists for more than three successive months, nor should such Indians be permitted to take their wives with them. For defense of the Indians the Visitor even requested that the Father General obtain from the Pope the right to excommunicate those who went to the *aldeias* to disturb the natives and inveigle them into enslavement; however, this last plan was impossible to carry out.²⁷

Hospitality toward friends was an outstanding characteristic of the Indians of Brazil, and their attachment to the Jesuit fathers was genuine. Gouveia was charmed by their friendliness, natural fondness for music, and dramatic festivities. Among his instructions of 1586 was one urging the teaching of singing after regular school hours to the Indian children with ability for it, and by those most able to give such instruction. There were several Jesuit instructors who were famous in this regard. In financial support of the *aldeias*, the newly converted Indians paid *diezmos*, but not to the royal treasury, for these taxes did not leave Brazil. Rather they were used for the support of the churches, confraternities, and other religious activities of the *aldeia* Indians. A royal decree of January 4, 1576, established this practice for six years. After the expiration of the law, Gouveia had it renewed for fifteen more years by royal decree of August 21, 1587.²⁸

Instructions with regard to the baptism of the Indians were, as in other cases, the codification of precedent. The mass bap-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 66, 75, 78.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 83-94. The royal decree of July 26, 1596, on Indian freedom, ordered the strict observance of the free worker contract in regard to Indians hired from Jesuit *aldeias*, specifying essentially the same terms as described above. The text of this decree is printed in Leite, II, 623-624.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 89, 95, 109.

tisms performed at the first *aldeias* did not bring favorable results; and seeing that the prelates and synods in America strictly prohibited the baptism of an Indian or Negro without prior instruction, since otherwise they became Christians in name only, Gouveia left in 1589 an order definitely regulating such baptisms. No priest could baptize an adult Guinea Negro or Indian except in extreme necessity if the person in question did not know at least the rudiments of the prayers, have a good knowledge of what he should believe and how he should behave, and have the intention of receiving a Christian marriage. This also was the rule of the fathers on their missions to the slave settlements on farms and plantations; later the rules were adopted by the Capuchins in Maranhão, although not so rigorously. What was considered essential religious instructions prior to baptism? This, Gouveia ordered: those who have the capacity, before being baptized should be taught God the Creator, and the mysteries of Redemption, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, God's rewards, and the meaning of baptism and the other sacraments of the Church must be explained to them.²⁹

Gouveia, who himself heard the confessions of natives through an interpreter, left a rule in 1586 that Jesuits should not serve as interpreters in the confessional except when absolutely necessary, and in all cases interpreters should be persons of complete confidence. This practice of the Jesuits, confession through interpreter, was permitted by the Church, and is today, according to Canons 903 and 889 of the 1918 *Codex Juris Canonici*; the interpreter like the confessor was bound absolutely by the seal of confession and could not disclose directly or indirectly anything said in the confessional. Although the native Indians wore no clothing in their native state, a certain degree of modesty in the Christian sense was required on the Jesuit *aldeias*, and so in the matter of approaching the confessional the Visitor ruled that the natives must on such occasions be decently dressed.

In training the Jesuit novices at the colleges some were especially prepared for missionary work among the natives, others for duties at the colleges, depending upon their particular talents, but because of the importance attached to the missionary work among the natives, special emphasis was always placed on learning the native language. A class in the Tupi Indian tongue was inaugurated at the College of Bahia in 1556, and was required of all Jesuits by order of 1560. Gouveia left a rule in 1586

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 278-279.

that Latin students at the colleges should devote Sundays to learning the Tupi language, the *lingua geral* of Brazil. In 1587 a class in the native language was being conducted at Pernambuco. No Jesuit could be advanced to higher studies or ordained without first learning the native tongue, unless it were utterly impossible to do. But in 1584 several were ordained who were weak in Latin but masters of the native language.³⁰

Besides training their own and outside students in their colleges, and lifting the native Indians from their benighted Stone Age culture on the Jesuit *aldeia* establishments, the Jesuits were engaged in innumerable related fields. Among the general works of uplift, of special social benefit were the missions, "revivals," in the outlying areas, first around Bahia, then, after *aldeias* were founded there, on the surrounding plantations and farms, primarily for the benefit of Indians and Negroes, but the white residents also profited by them. Gouveia personally gave this important ministry a great impetus. In the vicinity of Pernambuco, with its many sugar plantations, fifteen to twenty per cent of the Guinea slaves were offered no other opportunity for religious assistance. Around Bahia and Pernambuco alone in the year 1584-1585, over 3,000 were baptized and taught Christian doctrine, and scores accepted Christian marriage. Cardim, who accompanied Gouveia, describes fully in his famous *Narrativa Epistolar* these visits and their resulting moral uplift and spiritual consolation. This type of mission is an eloquent example of the Jesuits' concern for the moral and spiritual betterment of the humble Negro and Indian plantation and sugar mill workers, who produced by their sweat and toil much of the wealth of sixteenth-century Brazil but received little or no material reward.

Gouveia in 1586 drew up the following rules regulating such Jesuit missions, a document of primary significance in the social history of colonial Brazil: (1) There should be always at each college at least one priest, appointed by the provincial, to visit with a companion the surrounding *engenhos* and *fazendas* at least once a year, even if not called; both should know the native language, and one should be an able preacher; the primary aim of the missions or visits should be understood as being a means of helping the Indian and Guinea slaves. (2) Upon arrival at a *fazenda* a list should be made of all the Negro and Indian slaves, designating those not baptized nor married; Mass should be cele-

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 285-286, 300-301, 561-564.

brated for the Negro slaves and Indians, and instruction in Christian doctrine before they scattered for the day's work; where possible the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary should be established, with the obligation of its members to say the beads on all holydays and gather at specified times for prayer and instruction in Christian doctrine. (3) During the time of the mission, the Indians and Guinea Negroes should be taught doctrine every day in the evening or at meal time, whichever preferred, always using the latest approved catechism. (4) The two Jesuit companions conducting the mission should act in full cooperation and never separate for any great length of time. (5) They should ask for those seriously ill, ministering to their spiritual needs, baptizing those in extreme danger, and urging the landowners not to permit any of their laborers to die unbaptized; adults must not be baptized without assurances that they would not thereupon flee to the woods—this to avoid certain complaints of slave owners—and adult slaves should be united in Christian marriage when possible. (6) They must not marry any Portuguese without special permission of pastors or their superior, nor Negroes if insufficiently instructed or should impediments stand in the way; *aldeia* Indians must not be married on Portuguese property, nor Indians of different masters, and rarely *fórros* to slaves; the names of all those baptized and married should be recorded, and the record books placed in the colleges for reference. (7) Those conducting the missions must have with them at all times the above regulations, and those concerning baptism, marriage, and the evangelization of the slaves, and must conform with them to the letter; the number of confessions, and other events of edification, should be recorded for incorporation into the *Cartas Anuas* of the province.³¹ One of the difficulties in the conversion of the Negroes was their language, consequently Gouveia suggested that it was preferable not to attempt missionary work among them until after they had resided in Brazil several years. To correct this inconvenience, which retarded conversion, he proposed the sending of two brothers to Angola to learn

³¹ The regulations as contained in Gouveia's report of 1586, ASJR, *Brasília*, 2, 146v-147, are quoted in full by Leite, II, 306-307.

Impelled by the desire to further the conversion of Indians and Negro slaves, the Visitor obtained certain privileges for the secular clergy as well as for the members of his order toward that end. For example, he obtained permission from the planters for the Jesuits and the secular clergy as well to say Mass with both Indian and Negro slaves and masters in attendance; there were chaplains on some of the plantations, but the planters prohibited their slaves from attending the same Mass with them. *Ibid.*, II, 304.

the language. A few of the Jesuits became quite proficient at the language.³²

The Jesuits always bent every effort to avoid misunderstandings and to cooperate with the civil authorities, "for the common good of Christianity." Mutual amity and collaboration were more frequent than otherwise. In general, the basis of discord, when it existed, was the question of Indian freedom, for which the Jesuits consistently fought. This crusade, a source of more serious conflict in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the cause of only occasional discord in the sixteenth century. The long struggle, although contributing to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil, was not in vain, for they won out in the end; to their eternal glory they were "the abolitionists of those days." The explanation for the slave-hunters' hatred of the Jesuits is self-evident. Since it was not within the power of the Jesuits to bring about the complete abolition of slavery in the colonial period, the problem of confessing slave-hunters was a delicate one, complicated by the fact that such persons either did not bother to go to confession or else received absolution from some secular priest. Those who went into the interior on war expeditions in conformity with the laws and orders of the king, the governor general, and the town councils, of course were exempt from religious censure, and the Jesuits were permitted to accompany official military expeditions against hostile Indians. Father Inacio de Azevedo had stated in this regard, in 1568, that members of the Society could not accompany warlike expeditions without the permission of the provincial, unless the governor were present on the expedition and had requested the services of the Jesuits to confess and assist the wounded. Gouveia, in slightly different language, reaffirmed this order in 1586.³³

The lax morals of the Brazilian aristocracy were something the Jesuits could only attempt to correct, as in the case of Negro slavery; the former was tolerated by the secular clergy, and the latter accepted by an absolute government and thus beyond their control. When in 1583 Gouveia ordered the compilation of the duties and privileges of the Jesuits with regard to confession, before he had time fully to acquaint himself with existing conditions, he brought up a most difficult problem. The Jesuits had always taken a firm stand in refusing to grant absolution in

³² Leite, II, 340-341, 353; Cardim, *Tratados*, 289.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 279-281, 363.

the confessional to those living in concubinage and those who obtained slaves illegally. This was a delicate point in the period of Governor Teles Barreto, who was hostile and touchy for personal reasons. Gouveia, who was conciliatory by nature, inclined toward a less rigid stand in view of the impossibility of solving the problem. After his return to Portugal the earlier firm stand was restored, however, and was approved by the Father General of the Society in 1598.³⁴

Gouveia's visitation and Anchieta's provincialship fell during the administration of the only really hostile governor whom the Jesuits encountered in fifty years. The period could have witnessed serious setbacks had the Jesuit visitor been less able in administrative leadership. It will be recalled that Governor Teles Barreto went to Brazil on the same ship that carried the Jesuit visitor, and on the way he showed every sign of respect, but once in Brazil he soon adopted a hostile attitude.³⁵ His passion against the Jesuits delayed but did not impede the work of evangelization, which gained new life during the rule of his successor. His attitude provoked various reports written by Gouveia, Anchieta, Cardim, and others, all of which because of the general information they contain are precious sources of early Brazilian history. The *Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos da Baía*, c. 1583, was written specifically to counter the early efforts of Teles Barreto to remove the *aldeias* from the Jesuits. As passion provokes passion, the *Informação* is vehement against the exploitation of the Indians. Read critically, however, it constitutes an important historical document. Fortunately the violence did not last, and when Gouveia left for Portugal in 1589, two years after the death of Teles Barreto, the storm had temporarily passed. The Jesuits made mistakes of zeal, and in this sense were partially to blame, thus Gouveia constantly urged the fathers to go out of their way to cultivate the friendship of the civil authorities. But the impossible attitude of Teles Barreto is undeniable.³⁶

Numerous conflicts arose over the question of Indian slavery. Some of the fathers refused absolution to the owners of slaves. There was also the problem of returning to their masters Indians who fled to the Jesuit *aldeias*, and often the impossibility of sending all the Indians requested by the Portuguese for hire on

³⁴ Leite, II, 129, 229-230.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 155-157, 161.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 155-169; Cristóvão de Gouveia to the Father General, Bahia, August 19, 1585, cited in *ibid.*, II, 161.

their plantations. The Visitor recognized that the Portuguese were justified in some of their complaints and assured them that serious obstacles would be removed. But despite his broad-minded appreciation of the problem, the Father Visitor himself was finally forced to admit the premise of some of his more zealous confreres: namely, that the only solution would be the complete abolition of Indian slavery in Brazil. One of the means the Portuguese used to increase the number of their slaves was to lure free Indians into marrying female slaves. The source of free male Indians was the Jesuit *aldeias*. Gouveia requested of his superior in Rome the right to excommunicate those engaged in such abuse, including those of the secular clergy consenting to or performing such marriages. To alleviate the lot of the slave women attached to the colleges, the Visitor left instructions that those with infants should not be permitted to do heavy work, nor work at any task for more than four or five hours a day, and be given special care and help. Due to Jesuit pressure, the royal decree of 1587 brought passing improvement. It required, among other things, the presence of Jesuits on all officially sanctioned expeditions into the interior, in order to avoid bloodshed and cruelty.³⁷ Gouveia ordered Jesuits to refuse absolution to any person who went into the hinterland to traffic in slaves independently of this law.³⁸

During the course of his visitation Gouveia helped solve, by facing them frankly and squarely, many matters of a local nature important to the Society and to the general program of social, moral, and intellectual betterment. The itinerary is brilliantly set forth in Cardim's *Narrativa Epistolar*. A few of his observations and activities in the course of his odyssey by sea, river, stream, and over waste lands and mountain passes, in the effort

³⁷ Leite, II, 211, corrects Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil*, São Paulo, n. d., I, 498, who gives credit to Teles Barreto for bringing about this royal decree.

³⁸ Leite, II, 211, 223-224, 229-230. The problem of slavery, Negro and Indian, continued to be a thorn in the side of the Jesuits, for much as they opposed it, it was no more in their power to abolish it than it would have been had they been crusading against it in the Old Dominion or anywhere else in the colonial period. However, they did all within their power to better the lot of the Indian and Negro; in this sense, far ahead of their times in their humanitarian stand, they were troublemakers. In truth, however, of the governors in the sixteenth century, only Teles Barreto really opposed the Jesuits; and there were no serious difficulties with bishops and other religious orders on the matter of Indian freedom. No other religious orders were formally established in Brazil until 1581, thirty-two years after the Jesuits had begun their work toward the freedom of the natives. The problem is well stated in Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil*, São Paulo, 1939, I, 338-339, 394.

to leave no corner of the far-flung Jesuit province unvisited, a province extending along a coastal strip of some 1,200 miles, are deserving of special mention. In so vast an administrative unit, one problem was that of placing the missionaries in places where their services would be of greatest advantage. At Porto Seguro, the hostility of the local authorities, and the low moral conditions of the Portuguese inhabitants led the Visitor to propose to the Father General that the Jesuit residence there be closed. This was not done until 1602, although hostility of the wild Aimores Indians brought an end to missionary work here for several years.³⁹ At Espirito Santo, on the other hand, the Visitor makes numerous references to the outstanding piety of the people, and the edifying spectacle of active religious confraternities among both the Portuguese and Indian population of the town and its environs. In 1584, on the occasion of Gouveia's visit, eight *aldeias* are mentioned in this region.⁴⁰ These *aldeia* establishments were composed of Indians brought from the interior. A large group arrived in 1584 while Gouveia was visiting there. Cardim's descriptions of the reception given the Visitor and his companions at the *aldeias* da Conceição and of São João in November of 1584 are classic.⁴¹

When Gouveia visited São Paulo in 1585 the Jesuit college there was in full bloom, "in its modesty it represented a high civilizing and social ideal in those nomadic indigenous surroundings."⁴² And this was only thirty years after the founding of São Paulo. The Jesuits were loved by all in Piratininga, and Gouveia and Cardim wrote enthusiastically of their glorious reception there. The arrival of the Visitor made possible a decision with regard to the proposed transfer of the Jesuit residence from São Vicente to nearby Santos. The place had been first visited by the Jesuits in late 1549 or early 1550, but no residence had been established there. The people of Santos, although poor, begged the Visitor to establish the Jesuits there, and gave in alms, and some houses and land estimated as valuing some 500 *cruzados*, for the purpose. Following the sacking and destruction of São Vicente by Cavendish, the transfer, long suggested, was finally made. It was a practical step, for although it suffered from the incursions of English pirates, Santos prospered. Whereas prior to 1585 the Jesuits from São Vicente visited

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 202, 205, 212.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 230.

⁴¹ Cardim, *Tratados*, 298-301.

⁴² Leite, I, 279.

Santos, now the opposite was the case; and as São Vicente had sent aid to Rio de Janeiro at the time of its conquest from the French, Santos was to send assistance to Piratininga on the occasion of the Indian siege of 1591.⁴³

At Rio de Janeiro the Visitor also found that the Jesuits were especially well liked; they were the sole ministers of the Church there for several years prior to the arrival of a secular pastor in 1569. Cardim's description of the festivities attending the arrival of the Visitor there in 1584 constitutes one of his most delightful passages. In 1585 Gouveia ordered the building of a new and satisfactory Jesuit church at Rio, which was completed in 1588.⁴⁴ A typical example of Gouveia's balanced but conciliatory character, which was responsible for much of his success in his dealings with others, was his handling of the dispute over the properties of Macacu while at Rio.⁴⁵

In the northern captaincy of Pernambuco the Visitor and Cardim were impressed in 1584 by the prosperous commerce and economic activity in and around the city of Pernambuco. The padres were taken aback by the glowing welcome given them in this region, referred to as "New Lusitania." Local officials went out of their way to insist that they were at the complete service of the Visitor.⁴⁶ They were undoubtedly thinking about their own economic interests—their rich plantations and sugar mills teeming with slaves. They were not entirely successful, for although Cardim describes Pernambuco as a devout place, he does not hesitate to call attention to the sensuous indulgence and immorality of the wealthy planters, many of whom lived in concubinage. Some of Gouveia's visits to the *fazendas* and *engenhos* of Pernambuco were by request, other to win over some of those who were unfriendly. Both classes of individuals received the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, I, 263-264, 310-312.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 392; Cardim, *Tratados*, 305-306.

⁴⁵ This land had been donated to the Jesuits in 1571, the grant confirmed by the king and officially registered at Rio in 1573. The boundaries had never been definitely marked, and as a result a litigation was started by certain claimants, the heirs of one Fernandes. Their claims were well-founded. The first court decision was in favor of the Jesuits. Gouveia ordered that the land in dispute should be given up until a more definite decision was reached. At the same time he wrote to Rome that the heirs of Fernandes were poor people, and that the whole affair would be edifying, and would relieve the Jesuits of all possible criticism in the matter should his views be accepted. As a result, Jesuit claims to the land in dispute were given up by order of the Father General. Unfortunately, some years later, in 1590, the provincial Beliarde accepted rights to the land, thus frustrating Gouveia's noble gesture. Leite, I, 418-419; "Informação das terras do Macacu para Nosso Padre Geral," Bahia, September 11, 1585, printed in *ibid.*, I, 548-549.

⁴⁶ Cardim, *Tratados*, 289-296.

Jesuits with manifestations of good will, however. Cardim, in his *Narrativa Epistolar*, relates that they were received by these wealthy and easy living planters with a hospitality greater than that shown by the best friends of the Jesuits in Portugal itself! The Visitor and his companions were welcomed with great feasting in banquet halls as richly furnished as the castles of the wealthy nobility of Portugal.⁴⁷ Observing the great number of plantations in the interior of the captaincy, where the sons of the wealthy planters were without proper educational or moral assistance, the Visitor conceived the plan of founding colleges there, which did not materialize.

Although the Jesuits had visited the Indians of Pernambuco as early as 1551, there was no organized missionary work among them until 1584.⁴⁸ Gouveia gave impetus to this work, and attempted to gain lost time. He ordered fifteen-day missions at all the plantations of the interior. Two Jesuits should conduct each of these missions, and a complete circuit of the white plantations and Indian *aldeias* should be made. This turned out to be, along with the other services of the college, the most important work of the Jesuits here. The Visitor was able to write that all such settlements were visited by the priests on journeys ranging from eight to fifteen leagues. At some of the plantations there was a resident chaplain of the secular clergy, traditional and decorative, who said Mass only for the planter and his Portuguese household in the family chapel. These chaplains were little different from their masters in worldly interests, hence missionary work among the Indians and Negro slaves fell to the Jesuits. In 1584 it was estimated that there were some sixty-six plantations in Pernambuco. Each had a sizable settlement composed of whites, Negroes, and native Indians. On these plantations the Visitor estimated that there were some 15,000 to 20,000 Negro slaves. To the Jesuits here was indeed a great opportunity, and they now made each plantation a mission headquarters, from which they visited the surrounding area preaching Christianity, baptizing, confessing, correcting marriages, and bringing consolation and a more ordered concept of society to the benighted natives. The Indian chief Matagoia asked to be converted at the time of Gouveia's visitation, and invited the Jesuit superior to visit his *aldeia*. Gouveia, despite warnings of possible treachery, visited the *aldeia*, where a humble church was built, and where

⁴⁷ See Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI (May 1931), 145-168.

⁴⁸ Leite, I, 494.

eight hundred natives were instructed and later baptized. From his observations at Pernambuco, the Visitor, in defense of the Indians, ordered excommunication for those who would go to disturb the neophytes of the *aldeia*, for he knew full well that the cursed slaver, with his enticing false promises and gewgaws, could quickly destroy the good work if permitted to do so.⁴⁹

Besides the purely humanitarian work of giving impetus and direction to general social, moral, and spiritual advancement, Gouveia played an important rôle in the promotion and progress of science, letters, and the arts in late sixteenth-century Brazil. At all the colleges, those at Bahia, Rio, and Pernambuco assuming the character of colonial universities, the Visitor insisted upon the maintenance of the highest standards. The faculty and standards at Bahia were equal to those of any of the smaller universities of sixteenth-century Europe, and equal or superior to most of the colleges and universities of colonial America, Latin or Anglo-Saxon, during their first half-century of development. In scientific and intellectual matters, as in every other aspect of his work, Gouveia issued rules and regulations pertaining to the most minute details. For example, he knew as well as everyone else that the best way to deplete a library was to lend out books indiscriminately. Because of the seriousness of the matter Visitor Azevedo had recommended that no books be lent out by the Jesuit libraries in Brazil under any circumstances. Gouveia relaxed the prohibition, applying it only to books of which there was only a single copy, and of these the prelate and a few persons of high quality should be excepted. This new regulation was a wise one, for many prelates donated books to the Jesuit libraries. Each house should always have a written copy of the latest approved *Doutrina* and *Diálogo* or *Suma da Fé*. These had been worked out in preliminary form in the native Tupi language since 1549, and prepared for the *aldeias* in manuscript copies, and as early as 1566 a copy of one had been sent to Portugal.

In the early years, due to the general absence of professional doctors in Brazil, the Jesuits, in their social work, often gave what medical assistance was within their power. Anchieta was loved and respected by all for his countless charitable services as amateur nurse and doctor, in which he attained considerable skill through his keen observation and discovery of simple but practical remedies for common wounds and illnesses. There was some

⁴⁹ Cardim, *Tratados*, 289-296; Leite, I, 494-496.

question within the Society as to whether or not Jesuits should be permitted to engage in the practice of bleeding, the widely used medical treatment of those years. References to Anchieta as being lax in following the rules of the Society apply to such matters as this. Although doctors were scarce in Brazil in Gouveia's time, nevertheless, in 1586 he ordered that "None of ours may bleed, on his own initiative, except in extreme necessity, where the illness is grave and there is no one else to do it." The art of bleeding was not the business of Jesuits. The *Informação do Brasil para Nosso Padre*, prepared under the direction of and signed by Gouveia, written in the style of Cardim, and attributed by some to Anchieta, contains among notices of medical interest, of which Anchieta was undoubtedly the source if not the actual writer of the information, an interesting section on alimentary hygiene.⁵⁰

In building, the Jesuits in some cases not only introduced religious but civil architecture, as in São Paulo. They were fortunate in having among their members Brother Francisco Dias, who before his entrance into the Society was a professional architect. He had helped in the construction of the famous Church of São Roque in Lisbon. He was sent to Brazil for the specific purpose of directing building operations. Thus, to avoid diversity of planning and architectural style in accordance with the personal taste of local superiors who were not always competent in such matters, Visitor Gouveia proposed to the Father General that all buildings should be constructed from plans of Brother Dias. The Visitor's suggestions in this regard were generally observed. Brother Dias drew up the plan for the College of Bahia, and most of the Jesuit buildings in Brazil in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.⁵¹

The Jesuit theater not only instructed and entertained the early Brazilians, but represented the beginnings of Brazilian literature.⁵² By Gouveia's time such dramatic presentations, by both the Portuguese students of the colleges and the Indians of the *aldeias*, were already a part of the cultural life of Brazil. The Jesuits were almost solely responsible for developing the religious drama in sixteenth-century Brazil among the Indians and slaves, and among the Portuguese population and at the colleges. Gouveia could only give encouragement to a work already well established. The indirect but special contribution of

⁵⁰ Leite, II, 542, 557, 570, 573, 582; *Cartas Jesuíticas*, III, 424-434.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 597.

⁵² Afrânio Peixoto, *Primeiras Letras*, Rio de Janeiro, 1923, *passim*.

Gouveia to this chapter in the history of the Brazilian drama is to be found in the mention and delightful descriptions of such presentations to be found in the various official reports of his visitation prepared under his direction.⁵³ These reports are also full of material for the study of social history, cultural fusion, and comparative folklore.

Brazilian scholars are grateful to Visitor Gouveia for his vigilance in regard to the preservation of official records. In the course of time many Jesuit letters and reports which otherwise would have enriched the sources of later students of Brazilian civilization were lost at sea on their way from Brazil to Portugal when the ships carrying them were wrecked or attacked and sacked by enemy pirates. Precautionary measures were necessary, and Gouveia insisted that at all times duplicate copies be made of official Jesuit correspondence to Europe, so that certified copies could be sent when the originals were lost at sea. The vessel in which Gouveia himself was traveling, on his return to Portugal, was attacked by French pirates and he found it necessary to cast into the ocean some "secret papers." To salvage the remainder of their papers the Visitor and his companions underwent much punishment at the hands of their captors, but it was not entirely in vain, even though some of the documents were damaged after being temporarily hidden in such places as barrels and water pipes.⁵⁴

Gouveia's visitation is also memorable in connection with two important events pertaining to colonial defense and to territorial and cultural expansion in which he played an active rôle: the defense of Bahia in 1587, and the arrival of the first Jesuit missionaries in Paraguay in 1588. On April 21, 1587, the English pirates Robert Withrington and Christopher Lister, returning from the Straits of Magellan, took captive, and held for a time, the first Jesuit missionaries who were on their way from Brazil to Paraguay. Eager for loot, the British seamen surprised and ravaged Bahia. The Visitor was there at the time, and played a leading rôle in the defense of the city. He called out the Indians of the nearby Jesuit *aldeias*, and, as usual, they were in the first line of defense, recalling to memory the similar rôle of the loyal Indians of the Jesuit *aldeia* establishments in the conquest of

⁵³ Cardim, *Tratados*, *passim*, speaks of the following presentations: *Auto Pastoril* (1583), *Diálogo Pastoril* (1584), *Diálogo* (1584), *Auto das Onze Mil Virgens* (1584), *Diálogo de Ave Maria* (1584), *Auto de S. Sebastião* (1584); Leite, II, 608-610.

⁵⁴ Leite, I, 132; II, 538-539; Cardim, *Tratados*, 322-324.

Rio de Janeiro from the French invaders two decades earlier; and overcoming the cowardice of the settlers, it was the persuasive and respected Visitor who rounded up and aroused the spirit of the people for the struggle, thereby assuring victory.⁵⁵

The idea of establishing a mission in Paraguay had been entertained by the Brazilian Jesuits since as early as 1551. With news of large tribes there awaiting conversion, it was frequently pressed, even after the ill-starred mission of Brothers Pero Correia and João de Sousa, who, on their way to Paraguay in 1554, were killed by Carijó Indians at the instigation of a disgruntled Spaniard who had been freed by them from Indian captivity, but who brought about their murder because they ordered him to give up a concubine.⁵⁶ The union of Spain and Portugal had its unwelcome consequences, a more violent cycle of enemy attacks upon Brazilian towns and cities, especially by the Dutch; but there were also advantages of lasting importance, outstanding of which was the temporary removal of former national barriers, and the expansion into the vast interior lying at the crossroads between the settled areas of Spanish and Portuguese South America. The Jesuits took the opportunity to renew the request to extend missions into Paraguay. At the Provincial Congregation held in Bahia in 1583 it was proposed that the Father General bring to the attention of the king the desirability of sending Jesuits of the Brazilian province to Paraguay, requesting Spanish naval protection for the voyage to Buenos Aires. Gouveia supported the plan, and in 1584 was authorized to send some Jesuits to Paraguay *per modum missionum*. Meanwhile, and independently, the Bishop of Tucumán asked the Brazilian superior for priests. Gouveia sent five Jesuits. But two Jesuits had gone to Tucumán from the Peruvian province. As a result, in 1591 the Brazilian Jesuits were ordered to withdraw. It was all for the best, since at this moment a new field was being opened up in northern Brazil, and Brazilian Jesuits were now needed there. Finally, in 1607, Paraguay was made an independent province, separate from both Brazil and Peru. Hence the Jesuits of the Brazilian province worked several years after 1588 in Paraguay,

⁵⁵ Leite, II, 137-138; note of Rodolfo Garcia, in Cardim, *Tratados*, 328; Pierre du Jarric, S. J., *L'Histoire des choses plus memorables . . .*, Bordeaux, 1608-1614, II, 315; Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, Glasgow, 1904, XI, 202-227; Fernão Guerreiro, *Relação Anual das coisas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas Missões . . . 1600 a 1609*, Coimbra, 1930-1933, I, 376.

⁵⁶ Leite, II, 236-242.

and though they did not establish the first of the famous *reductions* there, they were pioneers of the famous Paraguay mission.⁵⁷

Although Gouveia had early asked to remain in Brazil without special duties, the Provincial Congregation of 1583 petitioned the Father General to appoint him provincial at the termination of his visitation.⁵⁸ Neither petition was granted. After issuing the final instructions of his visitation and receiving Father Marçal Beliarde as successor to Anchieta in the provincialship, Beliarde arriving in Bahia on January 22, 1588, Gouveia prepared to return to Portugal.⁵⁹ A storm delayed his immediate departure, but he and his companions Father Francisco Soares and Brother Barnabé Tello finally set out from Pernambuco on June 28, 1589. Nearing Portugal, on the morning of September 6, the unarmed vessel in which they were traveling was surprised and boarded by Protestant French pirates. The Jesuits were pushed about, struck and badly bruised, their lives threatened, and some of their papers and reports were lost in the scuffle. Near La Rochelle, some seventy or eighty leagues from the European coast, they were given some half-spoiled hardtack and some very black beer, transferred to a small boat, and abandoned. They reached the coast of Biscay on September 15, more dead than alive, where, at Santander, a curate, upon learning that they were Jesuits, gave them food and lodging, and clothes and provisions for the continuance of their journey. They made their way to Burgos, Valladolid, Bragança in northern Portugal, finally reaching Lisbon on December 1, 1589, some five months after they had left Brazil.⁶⁰

Upon his return to Portugal Gouveia continued to serve in important administrative posts. He again became rector of the college at Evora, and in the last years of the century was appointed provincial of the Portuguese province. Always he was esteemed by his colleagues for his kindness and charity, sound judgment, and keen foresight. He was frequently consulted in Portugal and Rome as an authority on matters pertaining to Brazil. As provincial he constantly urged strict observation of the rules of the Society, kept up a lively interest in the maintenance of the highest standards in the Jesuit colleges, and

⁵⁷ Leite, I, 333-358; see also Pablo Hernández, *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús*, Barcelona, 1913, I, 440-441. Varnhagen, IV, 180, has the chronology badly garbled in his discussion on this subject. See Leite, I, 344-349.

⁵⁸ Leite, II, 491.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 492.

⁶⁰ Cardim, *Tratados*, 322-326; Leite, II, 492-493.

helped to bring about uniformity in the observation of the *Ratio Studiorum* in the Portuguese colleges prior to the publication of its final draft in 1599.⁶¹ As rector of the Professed House in Lisbon, he was looked upon as a father by his fellow Jesuits. Father General Aquaviva dreamed of confiding the Jesuit mission in Japan to Gouveia's administrative genius, and was constrained by the Pope to have him accept the post of bishop of Japan, but illness prevented. On February 13, 1622, Gouveia passed away at the Jesuit house of São Roque in Lisbon at the age of eighty, after a long life well spent.⁶²

Among Gouveia's many services, none was more worthy of record and of wider influence than his work as second Jesuit visitor to Brazil. He lent relevant services to Brazil, and deservedly has been called the "second founder" of the Jesuit province of Brazil. The instructions of the first visitor, Inacio de Azevedo, were given their permanent pattern as codified by Gouveia at an important turning point in sixteenth-century Jesuit and Brazilian development. He gave impetus to the brilliant beginnings of the Jesuit colleges fostering the arts, sciences, and culture. He furthered Indian education and social developments, and extended missionary work. He directed and engaged in an active correspondence with his superiors in Europe in letters, reports, and relations, all precious sources of information for the history of Brazil in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.⁶³

⁶¹ Rodrigues, *História*, II, II, 26, 34, 43, 53.

⁶² Leite, II, 493; Franco, 81.

⁶³ The following important manuscript accounts of sixteenth-century Brazil were written under Gouveia's direction: *Narrativa Epistolar de uma viagem e missão Jesuítica* (1583-1590); *Informação do Brasil e de suas capitanias* (1584); *Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos da Baía* (c. 1583); *Breve Narração das coisas relativas aos collegios e residencias da Companhia nesta provincia Brasilica, no ano de 1584*; *Informação da Provincia do Brasil para nosso padre* (1583); *Summario das Armadas que se fizeram, e Guerras que se derão na Conquista do Rio da Parahyba . . .* (c. 1587). All of these manuscripts have been published in Portuguese editions. The most critical edition of the first account is the edition in Cardim, *Tratados*, op. cit., 247-364; the most critical editions of the following four reports are those in *Cartas Jesuíticas*, III, 301-447; the last mentioned manuscript was published in *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, XXXVII, Part 1, 5-89.

Serafim Leite, in his *História*, cites over a dozen unpublished letters and reports written by Gouveia as visitor to his Jesuit superiors in Europe, all of which are found in the Archivum Societatis Jesu Romanum (ASJR), and the Fondo Gesuitico (Gesù), in Rome. They are cited or quoted over a hundred times in his two-volume *História*, several of them in full. The most important are the following:

LETTERS. Bahia, July 25, 1583, ASJR, *Lusitania*, 68; Bahia, December 31, 1583, *ibid.*; Pernambuco, September 6, 1584, *ibid.*; Pernambuco, September 7, 1584, *ibid.*; Bahia, November 1, 1584, *ibid.*; Bahia, November 5, 1584, *ibid.*; Bahia, August 19, 1585, ASJR, *Lusitania*, 69.

He attempted to harmonize and settle the difficulties presented by Governor Teles Barreto. He promoted and personally contributed to general spiritual and moral uplift, cultural unity, defense against pirates, and the fight for Indian freedom and spiritual consolation for the Negro slave. His rules and regulations henceforth came to form the basis of Jesuit usage in Brazil, and the rule of the province, as law, dispensation from which was permitted only in exceptional cases and in *auditis consultoribus*. "Gouveia was the great codifier and legislator of the Society of Jesus in Brazil in the XVIth century."⁶⁴ Aquaviva, Father General of the Society, was so entirely satisfied with the visitation that he ordered that no changes be made in the important rules and regulations established by Gouveia as visitor to the Jesuit province of Brazil.⁶⁵

The brilliant inauguration of Jesuit missionary, educational, social, and religious work in Brazil in the second half of the sixteenth century, stands out as one of their greatest achievements in colonial America. In the most difficult frontier surroundings the Jesuits laid the foundations of a new culture. A degree of peace and prosperity aided in the progress of this work in the last decades of the century. In the seventeenth century, under

REPORTS. "Confirmação que de Roma se enviou a Provincia do Brasil de algumas coisas que o P. Cristóvão de Gouveia Visitador ordenou nela o ano de 1584," ASJR, *Brasília*, 2, 139-149; "O que parece ao P. Visitador Cristóvão de Gouveia ordenar na visita deste Coll. da Baya, 1º de Janeiro de 89," *Gesù, Colleg.* 13 (Baya); "O que parece ao Padre Cristóvão de Gouveia . . . acerca das fundações do Côleio da Baía e Rio de Janeiro . . .," ASJR, *Brasília*, 11; "Informação das terras do Macacu para Nosso Padre Geral . . . Baya, 11 de Setembro 85," ASJR, *Lusitania*, 69.

RELATED DOCUMENTS. Letter from Cristóvão de Gouveia, rector of the College of Santo Antônio, to the Father General, Lisbon, April 31, 1581, ASJR, *Lusitania*, 68; "Instrucción particular para el P. Cristóval de Gouveia Visitador del Brasil," Rome, July 21, 1582, *Gesù, Colleg.* 20 (Brasil); "Censura de Cristóvão de Gouveia a Vida de Santo Inacio pelo P. Rivadeneira," *Monumenta Ignatiana* . . ., Series IV, Madrid, 1904-1918, I, 740-741.

Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Lisbon, 1741, I, 578-579, refers to the following two manuscripts written by Gouveia, but never published and now considered lost (citation by Rodolfo Garcia in Cardim, *Tratados*, 328-329): *Historia do Brasil, e costumes de seus habitantes; Commentario das occupaçoens que teve, e do que nellas fez.*

⁶⁴ Leite, II, 491. Leite, II, 418, adds: "The regulations of his visitations (1586-1589) are, in reality, in themselves, a true code of usage [*costumeiro*], with the strength of law, and they came to constitute the authentic and legal basis of usage [of the Jesuits] of Brazil." See also *ibid.*, II, 417.

⁶⁵ Guilhermy, I, 155. The successful constructive work of the visitation was, of course, due in great part to the able collaboration of Gouveia's Jesuit companions in Brazil. Of these, the most important were Fathers Fernão Cardim, Rodrigo de Freitas, José de Anchieta, Luiz da Grã, Quirício Caxa, Ignacio de Tolosa, Luiz da Fonseca, and Brothers Barnabé Tello and Francisco Dias.

the retarding influences of international strife, with its piratical attacks, temporary loss of territory, and dislocation of economy, not to mention the refusal of the Western World to aid in the abolition of Indian and Negro slavery, the Jesuits continued to expand their field of activities, and to maintain something of the tempo of brilliant success that characterized their work in the previous half-century. In the eighteenth century, they were suddenly torn from their fields of labor, in a violent but passing maelstrom of uncontrollable elements of intellectual confusion. But their religious, educational, and humanitarian work was not of a passing nature; they were a potent force in the formation of Brazilian civilization.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Institute of Jesuit History

Edward Creighton and the Pacific Telegraph

On the morning of May 10, 1869, Omaha, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York joined in celebrating, with speeches and parades, the driving of the golden spike which united the rails of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads. One float in the Omaha parade consisted of a wagon on which were erected poles strung with wire, while at a table sat an operator ostensibly "dispatching lightning." On the side of the wagon was a banner bearing the inscription: "The Pacific Telegraph—projected and constructed by a citizen of Omaha."¹ The citizen of Omaha whose achievements were thus remembered was Edward Creighton. But he himself was not in Omaha that morning, nor was he celebrating the occasion at a distance nor indulging interesting memories. More characteristically, he was far away, a significant member of the group making history at Promontory Point, for he had built for Western Union the last section of its line along the Union Pacific right of way.²

Creighton had come to Omaha in 1856, a young man, somewhat above medium height, of square, powerful, symmetrical build. His full expressive face was distinguished by a broad forehead, eyes inclined to twinkle, and lips which smiled. But his eyes could glow with zeal, and his lips were often set in a line of determination. He was a man who had done things, who was to do greater things. Born in Belmont county, Ohio, August 31, 1820, Edward was the fifth child of James and Bridget Hughes Creighton. His formal schooling was just elementary; he did not finish grade school, yet by diligent study when the day's chores were done he secured a fair education. When he was eighteen his father gave him, as a patrimony, a stout wagon and a team of horses. Edward had little difficulty finding work for himself and his team, hauling freight and later grading turnpikes and roadbeds for rails creeping west.

EDITOR'S NOTE. This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Omaha, May 3, 1940.

¹ *Omaha Weekly Herald*, May 12, 1869.

² The telegram he sent from Promontory that day to his wife, Mary Lucretia Creighton, is in her scrapbook, now in the possession of Mrs. Emma Nash, a grandniece to whom I am deeply indebted for many kindnesses.

One day in 1847 he saw men setting poles along the road. Questioning the men he learned that they were putting up a telegraph line. He immediately went to Springfield where he met Bernard O'Connor, who had the construction contract. Soon Creighton had a contract to deliver poles on a line from Dayton to Evansville in Ohio. Nor was the year out before he had another for constructing part of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Louisville line. This was one of Henry O'Reilly's lines, as was the Peoples Line from Louisville to New Orleans, part of which Creighton built during 1848. For the next half dozen years he was actively engaged in the several phases of telegraph building and operation as contractor, superintendent, and agent. In 1850 he erected part of the New York and Mississippi Printing Telegraph Company's line west from Buffalo. Hiram Sibley and his Rochester associates, using the House patent, made this line the nucleus of the Western Union Company, which was formed in 1856 when Sibley's lines were combined with those of Ezra Cornell and J. H. Wade, who had the Morse rights to that territory. Creighton's future was to be linked closely with the men of Western Union.

In 1855 we find him grading streets in Toledo, and later preparing railroad roadbed near Mexico, Missouri. The forty teams used by him on this job were sold in 1856 in Keokuk, Iowa, when a change in the city council resulted in the revoking of a street grading contract. The same year he went to Omaha. His brothers James, Joseph, and John, and his cousin James, generally known as "Long Jim" Creighton, all of whom had been associated with him, also went to Omaha and were to be valuable assistants in his later undertakings. The brother James does not seem to have gone out with the crews which built the Pacific Telegraph, but he did handle some of Edward's Omaha affairs while the latter was on the plains. The cousin, "Long Jim," however, was a most energetic, resolute, and reliable associate in this venture as well as in the freighting business in which he established a significant reputation.³

In the fall of 1856, Edward returned to Dayton, Ohio, where on October 7 he married Mary Lucretia Wareham. The next spring he took his bride to Omaha, going first to Pittsburgh to

³ This account of Creighton's early years has been based in the main on P. A. Mullens, S. J., "Edward Creighton," in his *Creighton, Biographical Sketches*, Omaha, 1901; James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America*, second edition, New York, 1886; and the *Journal of the Telegraph*, III (June 1, 1870), 154. Notes and receipts found in his effects and now in possession of The Creighton University gave some help in tracing his movements.

load a steamer with lumber for which there was a ready market in the new settlement on the Missouri. He was now a substantial citizen, with an established reputation as a freighter, contractor, and telegraph builder, and having a working capital of about twenty-five thousand dollars. This year, 1857, he was able to loan J. Sterling Morton \$1,400, the note for which is among his effects. He entered actively into the life of the new city, including the political. On July 17, 1858, he was elected a delegate to the Democratic county convention;⁴ but he was never a candidate for public office.

The panic year, 1857, was a dismal one in Omaha, but the discovery of gold on Cherry Creek in 1858 revived business and also the rivalry of Omaha with the other river towns, Florence, Bellevue, Nebraska City, and St. Joseph. Each strove to be the outfitting center for the hurrying gold seekers. The subsequent rush and the Utah War stimulated discussion of a railroad to the Pacific and renewed the agitation for a telegraph to California. The *Omaha Times* of September 16, 1858, reported the *St. Joseph Gazette* as saying: "We have been talking about a telegraph to the Pacific coast ever since California was organized." Two weeks later the *Times* seconded enthusiastically the *Iowa State Journal's* desire for a line from the Mississippi to the Missouri, but wanted it continued to the coast, for which project it understood Congress had made an appropriation. But the *Times* was mistaken, for, though the matter had been taken up in several sessions and a bill to subsidize a line from the District of Columbia to San Francisco had passed the Senate, February 26, 1857,⁵ too few days remained in that session for the House to consider it. Significantly, all but one of the fifteen senators who voted against this bill represented slave states. Several new proposals were made in 1858, and it seemed that the general interest in the telegraph and the particular advantages of the army en route to Utah would make Congress listen favorably to the pleas of the California senators and of the telegraph promoters. But the proposals made little headway in 1858 or in 1859. Personal rivalries, promoters' rivalries, the same sectional rivalries which delayed the passage of a railroad bill, combined with serious doubts of the practicability of building and maintaining a line through a vast wilderness peopled only by Indians, prevented favorable action.

⁴ *Omaha Times*, July 22, 1858.

⁵ *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong., 3d sess., Appendix, 293-298.

But while Congress discussed and doubted, how could the significance of such a project be lost on an old telegraph man like Creighton, living now on the banks of the Missouri, watching the endless procession of emigrants hurrying to the gold fields and of freighters plodding after them? How could the hazards of such an enterprise be anything but a challenge to a man who had demonstrated on many occasions his hardihood, courage, and resourcefulness? A man whom the *Omaha Weekly Herald*, on January 22, 1866, described as "remarkable" for his "practical energy, judgment and skill?" By 1859 Creighton was again actively interested in advancing telegraph lines.

The pressure on Congress did not abate. Some indication of the struggle as it appeared to a Washington correspondent may be gleaned from the following:

An earnest and probably successful effort is in the making by the Government in conjunction with the leading telegraph gentlemen of the country, to insure the prompt completion of a substantial line of telegraph from the Mississippi River to San Francisco. There are now present in the city, in consultation upon this subject, Hiram Sibley, Esq., President of the Western Union Telegraph Company; Zenas Barnum, Esq., President of the American Telegraph Company; T. H. Walker, Esq., President of the N. Y. and Buffalo Co.; Dr. Green, President of the New Orleans and Louisville Co.; Colonel Bee, President of one of the California lines; Judge Selden of Rochester; T. S. Faxton, Esq., of Utica; Cyrus W. Field, Esq., of New York; Ezra Cornell, Esq., of Ithaca, and others.

Nearly all the Presidents of the various telegraph companies throughout the United States are here, looking after the bill before the Senate. . . . It appears there are so many conflicting interests in behalf of this measure that it is likely to fall to the ground.⁶

Through the perseverance of Hiram Sibley, who overcame the reluctance of his fellow Western Union directors and conciliated enough of his rivals by bringing them into the final contract, Congress was finally induced to grant a subsidy, June 16, 1860. The subsidy was to be \$40,000 a year for ten years, for a line from some point on the Missouri to San Francisco. The contract for the subsidy was not to be signed until the line was in actual operation, and the line had to be in operation within two years from July 31, 1860. The act gave a right of way through unoccupied lands, as well as a quarter section every fifteen miles for repair stations. It further provided a maximum charge of

⁶ *Harper's Weekly*, IV (March 24, 1860), 182.

three dollars for a single dispatch of ten words, and stipulated that this was not to be regarded as an exclusive grant.⁷

The builders had not waited; they anticipated eventual favorable action by Congress and were preparing. Western Union men particularly were active. That company, soon after its organization, gained ownership or control of all lines west of Buffalo and Pittsburgh and had through connections between New York and St. Louis. Looking west they discovered that Charles M. Stebbins had, in 1857, become owner of the St. Louis and Missouri River Telegraph Company, of which he had been superintendent but which had become bankrupt the previous year. They saw, also, that Stebbins had built a profitable line to Kansas City by 1858, and was planning further extensions. So by promises and threats Wade persuaded Stebbins to sell a majority of his stock to Western Union men for \$12,000, regarded by him as an insignificant sum.⁸

Stebbins's success in building up his line had been due to his arrangements with railroads and to the system of subsidies of his own making. His agent would go into a town to which it was proposed to build a line, and persuade the citizens that for so great a boon as a telegraph connection with the rest of the world financial contributions were but fitting and proper. These contributions were payable one-half when the poles were in place, the remainder when the line was in operation. For the money the company issued scrip which could be used in payment for messages. Thus the company would have subscribed all the money needed to build the line, and enough more to keep going until the scrip was almost used up. By that time normal operations were regularly profitable.⁹ Brokers traded in this scrip just as they did in land warrants, as the advertisements of the Kountze Brothers in the *Omaha Daily Telegraph* in 1861 reveal. The Kountzes had helped raise and collect the \$5,000 subscribed by Omahans. In return for this service Augustus Kountze got the contract to supply poles for Stebbins in Nebraska.¹⁰

⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., Appendix, 481. Two articles in the *Rochester Historical Society Publication Fund Series*, one by Jane March Parker, "How Men of Rochester Saved the Telegraph," V (1926), 121-134, and Hiram W. Sibley, "Memoirs of Hiram Sibley," II (1923), 127-134, are interesting accounts of Sibley and the Rochester group.

⁸ Charles M. Stebbins, *New and True Religion and Autobiography*, third edition, New York, 1898, 308.

⁹ Henry M. Porter, *Pencilings of an Early Western Pioneer*, Denver, 1929, 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13; letter of Robert C. Clowry, March 17, 1904, quoted in J. Sterling Morton et al., *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, 3 vols., Lincoln, Nebraska, 1906-1913, I, 99n.

During 1859 the Stebbins line was extended to Fort Smith, Arkansas. It was intended to follow the Butterfield stage route on to Sherman, Texas, Tucson, and Fort Yuma to connect with wires coming east from Los Angeles. This project was undertaken on the assumption that Congress would stipulate this route for any telegraph to the Pacific which it would subsidize. Neither Stebbins nor Porter made any mention of Creighton in their accounts of the building of the line to Fort Smith. But according to Mullens he arranged for the building of the line¹¹ and reported to J. H. Wade and other Western Union men that both this route and one planned from Memphis to Colorado were undesirable.¹²

On April 18, 1860, Stebbins and his Western Union associates secured the incorporation of the Missouri and Western Telegraph Company with Stebbins as president and treasurer, Creighton as general agent, and Clowry as secretary and superintendent. Isaac Elwood, Anson Stager, and J. H. Wade were among the incorporators. In May these same men became officers and directors of the St. Louis and Missouri River Company, and on August 1, the latter's whole property was leased to the Missouri and Western.¹³

But Congress did not stipulate southern routes; Creighton had reported against them, so the Missouri and Western shifted, in 1860, to the central route. This was the route to Pike's Peak and to Utah, the route dramatized by the Pony Express. But while the Pony Express cut across the plains from St. Joseph, the telegraph went through that town and up the river to Brownville, Nebraska City, and Omaha, and then west by way of Florence and the Mormon Trail to Fort Kearney. An office was opened in Omaha on September 10, 1860, and Fort Kearney was connected up in time to receive by wire the news of Lincoln's election.¹⁴

¹¹ Mullens, "Edward Creighton," 13.

¹² Reid, *Telegraph in America*, 493.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 619; Carlyle N. Klise, "The First Transcontinental Telegraph" (M. A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1938), 38-39.

¹⁴ Some indication of how rival claims and failure to distinguish the several phases of the work have complicated and confused the history of telegraph building, may be gleaned from the accounts of the construction of the line from St. Joseph to Omaha. Mullens, "Edward Creighton," 13, says Creighton built the line between those cities; Frank J. Burkley, *The Faded Frontier*, 288, says Creighton had the contract for the line between St. Joseph and Brownville; a *History of Nebraska*, Western Historical Society, c. 1882, 1203, tells of Creighton and one of the Kountze brothers arranging for the building of the line to Nebraska City where an office was opened September 18, 1860; Clowry, *loc. cit.*, says that he (Clowry) built the line from St. Joseph to Omaha, that he secured the subscriptions, and that he and the Kountzes collected the \$5,000 in Omaha; Porter, *Pencilings*, 11, says, "I built the line . . . to Omaha." Porter was foreman of construc-

With the wires up to Fort Kearney by November 1860, a fine start had been made, but the remainder of the route had to be surveyed, and the California companies then rushing their lines eastward had to be brought in on the enterprise. Once more Creighton was called on to make the survey, while Wade, accompanied by Bee of the Placerville-Humboldt, went to California by steamer to arrange things at the far end. Creighton left Omaha, November 18, 1860, going by stage through Julesburg, Fort Laramie, and South Pass, to Salt Lake City, where he arrived December 15. The following item from the *Deseret News* describes not only his arrival but also the technique of surveying.

Edward Creighton, esq., the agent of the Pacific telegraph line, arrived here by last mail stage, on Saturday, and is still in the city, seemingly a little puzzled whether to carry the line through Salt Lake City or by way of Santa Fe. He has visited Governor Young, but, I think, failed to particularly interest the gentleman personally in the enterprise. Mr. Creighton already learned that the Mormon chief's example as a shareholder would influence the community, and without it few shares would be taken here. Unless some such encouragement is given, Mr. C. thinks it very doubtful that the telegraph line will pass through this city, for a time at least. He is receiving proposals for supplying poles for 400 miles east and the same west, but makes no contracts till further informed by his associate agent who went round by the Isthmus to California, as to matters there.

Creighton did succeed in interesting Young, and got his promise of assistance, which proved essential during the construction of the line, especially the part west of Salt Lake City.¹⁵

Wade, on the other hand, seems to have encountered some

tion for the Missouri and Western, Clowry was general superintendent, Creighton was general agent; the Missouri and Western was owned by Stebbins and Western Union; so Sibley, Wade, Stebbins, Creighton, Clowry, and Porter, to say nothing of a few teamsters and pole setters, built the line.

¹⁵ The inventory of Edward Creighton's estate lists among his assets an item "Brigham Young, Note . . . \$100,000." Harry Stevens, in an article, "My Kingdom for a Horse" in the *Montana Farmer*, August 15, 1937, writes that Creighton loaned Young \$100,000 in two notes for \$50,000. In a letter to the author, dated February 27, 1940, Stevens says William Paxton, Sr., told him Creighton made the loan while resting in Salt Lake on this ride. Klise, *First Continental Telegraph*, 88, says the Overland Telegraph Company gave Young \$20,000 of stock as a good will gesture. I have not seen the note, but doubt that Edward Creighton was able to advance that amount on his own account in 1860. He had many dealings with Young through the coming years, and the occasion for such a loan might have arisen easily. But A. W. Lund, assistant church historian, wrote, in a letter to the author, dated Salt Lake, May 9, 1940: "I have made a second search through our records but can find no account of President Brigham Young receiving 20,000 shares of Telegraph stock. Neither do I find any account of the \$100,000.00 transaction you mention."

trouble in California, and wrote an urgent appeal to Creighton to join him. Creighton now started his famous ride to Carson City, Nevada. It was a six hundred mile trip through the valley of the Humboldt and over the Sierra Nevadas, made for the most part by a solitary horseman, little acquainted with the route. It was mid-winter and the wind drove sand, alkali, and snow into the eyes and ears of the traveler. Three times the skin peeled from his face. He stumbled into Carson City after twelve days, snow-blind and half dead. It had been a severe test of his physical and moral stamina. But he had acquired valuable information, and after a short rest rode on to join Wade. Creighton was confident the route was practicable, and was willing to undertake construction, hence, when the California companies still refused to cooperate, Wade and he began letting contracts for materials. The light was seen; the several California companies were merged into the California State Telegraph Company, which in turn organized the Overland Telegraph Company to handle actual construction. An agreement was reached by which the Overland would build east to Salt Lake City, and the Pacific Telegraph Company would build from Brownville, Nebraska, to the same place. The agreement provided for division of the receipts, and included a bonus to be paid by the losers to the party first reaching Salt Lake.¹⁶

The Pacific Telegraph had been incorporated in Nebraska, January 11, 1861, to take over Sibley's contract. Wade was president, Sibley, vice president. The incorporators were predominantly Western Union men. Creighton had 100,000 shares, one-tenth of the company's capital of a million dollars, representing a cash investment of \$18,000. Wade and Creighton left California by steamer March 27, 1861, arriving in New York April 12. May 23 Creighton reached Omaha with the contract to build the line from Julesburg to Salt Lake, and immediately started gathering men, animals, and materials. Stebbins, Clowry, and Porter had already begun preparations to extend their line from Fort Kearney to Julesburg. The Missouri and Western Company had a contract to build from Brownville to Julesburg, Stebbins and Western Union being equal partners; Brownville was to be the eastern terminus of the Pacific Telegraph Company.¹⁷

¹⁶ Mullens, "Edward Creighton," 15-16. His explanation and description of this famous ride seem the most satisfactory.

¹⁷ The dates of departure and arrival in the above are from the *Omaha Daily Telegraph* of April 2, April 16, and May 25, 1861. Stebbins describes his contract in his *Autobiography*, 374.

The *Omaha Daily Telegraph* of May 29, 1861, has these two illustrative items:

H. M. Porter, Esq., the local Superintendent of the Stebbins' Telegraph Line at this place, started twelve wagons yesterday, loaded with wire and insulators, to be left for the present at Cottonwood Springs. Mr. Porter will soon return and carry the remainder of his materials for extending the telegraph line from Ft. Kearney to Julesburg—a distance of two hundred miles west from Kearney, which Mr. R. [sic] will superintend.

The other reads:

E. Creighton, Esq., the general Superintendent and Agent of the Stebbins' and Pacific Lines, is here awaiting eighty wagons which he will load with telegraphic material to continue the line from Julesburg to Salt Lake, where he will meet the line from California. He has already received about one hundred and sixty tons of telegraph material, and intends to freight a sufficient quantity to furnish the line to Salt Lake. He thinks the Line will be finished through to California by next winter.

Three days later the same paper reports Creighton's purchase of fifteen wagons and about ninety yoke of oxen for \$8,000 cash. On June 2 it carried these items: "On account of storm along the telegraph line we were unable to get a full report." And: "The first of E. Creighton's train left yesterday, numbering twenty wagons, with an average of 5600 lbs. of telegraph freight." Similar items during the following weeks report the departure of other units of Creighton's train, the while gratefully acknowledging the benefits accruing to Omaha. And from the middle of June on, the paper decries indignantly the destruction of lines in Missouri by the confederates. While one system was raided, another was rushed to completion.

Creighton himself left Omaha June 17, and arrived in Julesburg June 25, driving a span of mules, "Mary" and "Jane," of which he was very fond, and a light but strong concord buggy.¹⁸ He was accompanied by James Brown, and on the last day overtook the latter's brother Charles, whom Creighton had hired to keep accounts, write letters, and make himself generally use-

¹⁸ Charles R. Brown, "My Experiences on the Plains in 1861 in Assisting in the Construction of the First Telegraph Line across the Continent." Original manuscript in the Library of the Western Union Company, New York, New York. Mr. W. H. Deppermann kindly provided me with a copy of this, as well as helping in securing information on many other points. Since the important sections are in diary form, reference to it will be by date.

ful for \$50.00 a month. This is how he made himself useful one day:

After writing some letters for Creighton on business matters, took an ax and went and helped the men chop poles. Ed staid with us during the day and night.¹⁰

Charles Brown had left Omaha the day before Creighton did, taking the stage to Fort Kearney and joining emigrant trains the rest of the way. He was trudging along on foot when his employer overtook him. Brown has left a succinct description of Julesburg as it was that day in June when they arrived to start building a telegraph line.

Julesburgh is on the south side of the Platte and is about 200 miles west of Fort Kearney and 400 from Omaha. It derives its name from a Frenchman named Jules who for years has been an Indian trader. There are six buildings in this city. One store or trading house, one dwelling house or stage station, and four sheds and barns. These structures are large and commodious and well-adapted to the purpose for which they are used, and are built of logs. The stages for California diverge from the Denver route at this point and run to Fort Laramie, South Pass, Salt Lake, Virginia City, Sacramento and then to San Francisco.

July 4, 1861, is the date generally given for the beginning of construction at Julesburg. One might wish that were true, but Brown has this entry under date of July 2:

We commenced the construction of the telegraph line today. The starting point was from the office established in the station house at Julesburgh. We set fifteen poles and stretched the wire across the river. Aside from helping Ed Creighton dig the first hole I had nothing to do with this day's work in building the line except in taking the tall spliced pole across the river and assist in setting it. The wire was carried across the river on three poles—two tall poles, one on each bank of the river and one on an island in the river. These two tall ones were made from splicing two or more together.

Creighton remained at Julesburg the next two days giving practical advice to the construction crews and setting up a telegraph office in charge of a Mr. Reynolds.

On the 5th, Creighton left to check workers gathering poles at various places along the line and to explore for additional sources of these essential articles, driving his favorite mules and concord buggy. It is almost impossible to keep track of his move-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1861.

ments from this time till the line was completed, for he was constantly on the go, locating poles, assigning crews to get them out, hurrying back to push forward supplies, and hastening the digging. A good idea of Edward Creighton on this job may be gathered from some random entries of Brown. Under date of June 29 he writes:

Ed. Creighton is jolly and apparently having a good time, "but like Paddy's owl he keeps up a devil of a thinking" on the great task before him. Ed. has a great head and there is a great deal in it; and what is more, he knows how to use all there is therein.

On July 18: "Ed. is a steam engine of energy and has wonderful powers of endurance, and the enterprise he now has in hand virtually compels him to be ubiquitous." Another on July 26 is characteristic: "Mr. Creighton came into camp with our mule team bright and early, while we were taking our breakfast. He considered it a great joke on Hazard's."

Poles presented the greatest problem. None could be found near Julesburg, but in the canyons around Cottonwood Springs, about a hundred miles east, were many groves of red cedar from which could be made poles that were very durable but very crooked and unsightly. Brown's diary for the end of June and early July refers almost daily to the arrival of crews with poles from Cottonwood, and their immediate return for more. He noted that the round trip took about nine days. Poles for practically all the line from Julesburg to Old Fort Laramie were hauled from Cottonwood Springs. There is a jubilant tone to Brown's entry of July 18: "J. C. ["Long Jim" Creighton] and J. McC. [John McCreary] found poles in abundance at the base of Laramie Peak and easy of access." On August 6 Brown reports that "Long Jim" had already cut and distributed from that place 1,075 number one poles, and then had cut and shaved, ready for hauling, about 450 more. Brown had already dubbed the camp "Camp Industry." Little wonder Edward Creighton learned to rely on his cousin.

The poles were distributed from the wagons at places marked beforehand by a small hole and a mound of earth every 70 to 73 paces. If the ground was level about twenty good poles were made to do for a mile; though the average was about twenty-five, the poles none too close together. Still, poles were very scarce for the first part of the line.

In his entry of July 10 Brown explains how the work was organized, and the difficulty of recording accurately the daily

progress of the several crews or of the line itself. The entry reads:

We are now settling down into good hard work and the building of the line will progress from this time forward rapidly. The trains of Guy and Dimmock are at work in the bluffs and canyons on Pumpkin Creek about 8 miles southwest of here. [Mud Springs, which was 64 miles beyond Julesburg.] Hazard's are over near Chimney Rock on the Lawrence Fork. [Chimney Rock was twenty-five miles from Mud Springs.] Hibbard has charge of the construction squad of our men and is now working his way up Pole Creek. Ragan and Chrismen's trains are hauling poles from Cottonwood and Julesburgh and distributing through Pole Creek Valley. Joe Creighton's train is somewhere east of Julesburgh. . . . Jim Creighton is pushing to the west with rapidity and will commence cutting and distributing poles somewhere in the hills west of Ft. Laramie. John A. Creighton with a small train is coming on from Denver to join us. Soon all the different divisions of our entire force will be at work on the construction of the line.

Thus, while the general scene of groups of men laboring at different points along the route is clear, it is almost impossible to trace the daily work accomplished, even though outer stations were set up at intervals as sections were joined. In this connection several published accounts make the error of saying that the outer station of Creighton's line on August 9 was fifty miles west of Fort Kearney.²⁰ But on August 5 Brown recorded how on that day Creighton connected a transmitter and sent messages east, and in the afternoon Creighton and Hibbard demonstrated to a group of Cheyenne Indians the shocking potentialities of several batteries and a strand of wire, after which they quickly got their lodges out of the way of the line. The concluding note is: "When we quit work that night our telegraph was complete to three miles west of Fort Laramie."

Progress became more rapid daily, and, with a crew working east from Salt Lake City toward Fort Bridger, the gap closed quickly. On October 17 Creighton's line was complete to Salt Lake; he sent the following telegram to his wife:

To Mrs. E. Creighton

Fort Bridger, 17 Oct. 1861

This being the first Message over the line since its completion to Salt Lake allow me to greet you. In a few days Two oceans will be connected.

E. CREIGHTON.²¹

²⁰ Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Wires and New Waves*, New York, 1936, 313; Klise, 50.

²¹ In Mary Lucretia Creighton's scrapbook.

On the next day Brigham Young sent a congratulatory message to Wade at Cleveland, assuring Lincoln through Wade that "Utah has not seceded but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once happy country." Creighton's men had won the race. Gamble's crews reached Salt Lake from the west on October 24. Chief Justice Field of California formally opened the transcontinental line with another reassuring message that must have been very welcome to the anxious President. How striking that in the darkest days of the Republic's history, while a battle was drawn between North and South, this line was fashioned to bind East and West.

The Pacific Telegraph proved profitable almost immediately, despite difficulties of maintaining uninterrupted service. Nature assaulted the line with snow, floods, and high winds; the Indians outgrew their early fears, and they, and renegades dressing as Indians, pulled down the wire and burned the poles; emigrants used the poles for firewood; buffaloes wore them away by their persistent rubbing; and in Missouri Confederate raiding parties systematically destroyed the line. Fortunately, the line in Missouri was in working order at the time the transcontinental connection was made, hence there was no interruption in the dispatching of the congratulatory messages. But within a week after the office was opened at San Francisco, the wires were down in Missouri. Consequently, the telegraph followed the example of the express and mail companies and changed the route to cross Iowa. By October 23, 1861, the route, Council Bluffs, Des Moines, Marshalltown, Cedar Rapids to the Mississippi, had been selected. On January 3, the telegraph across Iowa was completed.²²

In 1863 the Pacific Telegraph Company trebled its capital. Creighton now had 300,000 shares, of which he sold one-third for \$85,000. On March 17, 1864, Western Union absorbed the Pacific Telegraph on a share for share basis. Creighton remained as superintendent of the lines out of Omaha until February 1867, and for the next few years was a director of Western Union.

Creighton continued to build telegraph lines. In 1864 he built one from Julesburg to Denver and Central City, Colorado. Two years later he extended that line to Salt Lake; from there he erected one which reached Virginia City, Montana, in 1867, Helena in 1868, and Fort Benton in 1869. In the building of these latter lines John A. Creighton assumed most of the re-

²² Klise, "The First Continental Telegraph," 64-66.

sponsibilities of actual supervision. For the Union Pacific Edward built a line from North Platte to Monument Point. He had exerted his influence to have the Union Pacific make Omaha its eastern terminus, and in 1865 donated some town lots to aid the enterprise.

When the gold rush to Montana started in 1863, Creighton, his brothers, and cousin "Long Jim" engaged in the very profitable freighting business to the mines. The same year he and the Kountzes organized the First National Bank of Omaha, of which he was principal stockholder and president until his death. He was one of the first to recognize the cattle-feeding possibilities of the plains, and maintained a large ranch near Laramie across the river from Coads ranch. He early discovered that cattle could survive a winter on the plains: "My first grazing in that country was the winter of 1859."²³ He erected one of the first substantial business buildings in Omaha, and advanced a large sum of money to make possible the completion of the Grand Central Hotel. He was also president of the Omaha and Northwestern Railroad. His growing wealth is attested to by items in the *Omaha Weekly Herald*, the first of which reports, September 10, 1868, that he paid an income tax of \$17,488.77, the highest of Omaha residents; the other, April 6, 1870, announces his gross income for the year to be \$65,000, the highest reported. His estate approximated two million dollars.

He died suddenly, November 5, 1874, victim of a paralytic stroke. On the 9th all business was suspended while Omaha mourned the loss of its first citizen, for his fellow citizens realized that God had called a man who had striven mightily to make Omaha the "Gate City to the West." But the humble mourned a man whose unostentatious charities had relieved many a stricken family. The Creighton University is grateful and proud to honor him as a founder, for it was in compliance with his wish that his widow made the bequest with which it was founded; the growth of the foundation was assured by the generosity of his brother, Count John A. Creighton.

P. RAYMOND NIELSON

The Creighton University

²³ To Dr. H. Latham, April 15, 1870, quoted in Burkley, *op. cit.*, 284-286. An excerpt from this letter was printed in the *Omaha Weekly Herald*, June 8, 1870.

Book Reviews

The Continental Congress. By Edmund Cody Burnett. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941. Pp. xvii, 757.

Few authors approach their subject with a background and qualifications equal to those of Dr. Burnett, whose apprenticeship included numerous articles on various aspects of the Continental Congress and the editing of the eight volumes of the *Letters* of its members. Hence he does not exaggerate when he observes that for a good many years he has dwelt on terms of intimacy with the men who stride through the pages of his substantial volume. Throughout this excellent study he moves with a sureness of foot that attests his erudition and begets confidence in his judgment. He makes no pretense to writing the history of the American Revolution; rather he strives to depict the Continental Congress as the "central figure of the Revolutionary scene" and to make clear "whereunto the Congress had been called and to what degree it fulfilled its mission." He professes to restrain whatever bias his years of study may have engendered; he disclaims all intention of enlarging on the virtues or faults of those whose words and actions he records. Briefly he sets down the events which led to the summoning of the Congress, and then he follows that body from its opening session to its eventual displacement by the new government established under the Constitution.

Careful reading of these pages suggests that the majority of the members of Congress did not lack good intentions, but, as Hamilton observed to Washington, they lacked wisdom and decision. Too frequently they moved in the realm of the purely academic, and too often they contented themselves with halfway measures which in the circumstances amounted to dodging the issue. In part this was due to chronic change in the personnel of state representation, and to the scanty attendance of the delegates. Thus, according to Rufus King, in one period of six months a quorum was on hand only three days. Another root cause of the inefficiency of the Congress was its limited power. It could not coerce any state; it could only urge, exhort, and entreat refractory or apathetic members of the Confederation; it lacked the means to implement its decisions; thus circumscribed it is a wonder that a sense of futility did not overwhelm all of the members. One cannot but admire the steadfastness of those, chief among them Secretary Thomson, who through nine long years, continued to work under such disheartening conditions.

But the members of the Congress were not wholly blameless. Too many of them, in voicing the sentiments of their states, displayed an astonishing degree of indifference to the needs of the nation and a

corresponding attachment to state interests and rights. Without qualms they subordinated national issues to petty state or personal rivalries and jealousies. Factions abounded: a pro-French and an anti-French bloc; a pro-Dane and a pro-Lee group; small states leagued against large states, New England against the south, commercial interests against agricultural. Intrigue and internal strife reduced Congress to the nadir of ineptitude, while the army, unable to lay hand on essential supplies, was condemned to inaction. In desperation stout-hearted Washington confessed to Congress that "it will appear miraculous if our affairs can maintain themselves much longer."

Dr. Burnett does not subscribe to the theory of Knollenberg that the Conway Cabal was "probably a myth." In his opinion Mifflin, Lovell, and Gates were most badly tarnished but the Adamses did not escape without stain. He admits that a garbled excerpt of Conway's letter to Gates came into the hands of Washington; he grants that Conway was "probably more sinned against than sinning" and was the "victim of a not unscrupulous bunch of schemers," but he insists that he was no less the victim of "his own unbridled tongue."

In the preface the author indulges the hope that "wayfaring readers" will venture within "the orbit of his narrative." How many of this class will turn to this volume? Certainly few will have the perseverance to carry them through the more than seven hundred pages of a book whose appeal is chiefly to scholars. We hazard the guess that "addicts of modern historiography" as Burnett designates them, will greatly outnumber the "wayfaring readers." In that case why the tender solicitude for the few he hopes to attract, why the concern to "clear their path of every obstacle such as footnotes against which they might stub an unoffending toe"? No scholar will question the erudition or accuracy of Dr. Burnett, but as he reads these pages he will wish references directing him in further investigation of a point.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College, Indiana

Everyday Things in American Life: 1776-1876. By William Chauncy Langdon. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1941. Pp. xv, 398.

In this volume as in its predecessor which embraced the colonial period, William Chauncy Langdon approaches the history of our nation from the interesting point of view of the everyday things which, by their necessity and utility, came to be vital cogs in the American way of living and as such the symbols of our country's proud progress. Obvious and thorough research permits the author to marshal his material expertly, and a definite chronology is cleverly achieved.

In his first book Mr. Langdon found that the colonial era was primarily one of settlement, in consequence of which the everyday things of the time were those connected with the home. In this study of the ordinary things in American life during the first century of our

independence, he notes that life revolved more and more around transportation as our growing nation burst out of its colonial borders and swept across the plains and mountains in the remarkable expansion westward. Thus, a goodly portion of the book is concerned with the numerous types of river craft, Conestoga wagons, stagecoaches, and trains, as well as the rivers, canals, roads, turnpikes, bridges, and railways over which those means of transportation moved.

It is an intimate and occasionally exciting account, related with an exceptional charm which carries the reader pleasantly back into that century which must always stand as the supreme period in the growth and the unification of our country. The strong appeal of that epoch is an important overtone through the whole volume: the simple but rugged life of the people, the romance of the westward movement which opened up so many new fields of activity, the spirit of individual initiative which exploited steam and other things for industry, agriculture, and transportation—in short, the saga of the expansion, development, and maturity of a great nation. Anyone inclined to take too casually our modern conveniences of living will almost surely be roused by this book from such a complacent attitude and will no doubt emerge with an appreciation of the long struggles through which many of our commonplace things of today were evolved.

More than one hundred and fifty well-chosen and frequently rare illustrations provide a rich accompaniment to the text. The book also includes a bibliography, a complete index, and in the end-pages an interesting drawing of the grounds of the Centennial Fair in Philadelphia in 1876.

WALTER M. LANGFORD

University of Notre Dame

Indian-Fighting Army. By Fairfax Downey. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1941. Pp. 329.

The title of this latest book by Fairfax Downey indicates the limited scope of its subject: the United States Army in its campaigns against the Indians, between the years 1865 and 1891. It is a careful and accurate account, yet popular in style and presentation, sketching the history of the Army in a succession of vignettes of the chief Indian uprisings and the consequent Army campaigns. It is handsomely illustrated from drawings by Remington, Schreyvogel, and Zogbaum.

The reader will not get from this book anything approaching the full story of the Great West during those eventful years, nor even an adequate treatment of the relations between the Whites and the Indians. Its view is fixed upon the Army alone, with just enough incidental references to the larger framework of men and events to make the Army's work intelligible. Yet these references are so honest and reasonable that they keep the book from being a mere partisan record or sentimental eulogy of the Army.

Mr. Downey writes with understanding and nostalgic sympathy about an Army to which he is closely bound both by heredity and by personal experience; but he does not conceal the impression that the old Army was made up of fine fellows who were committed to doing a rather dirty job, and that morally the Indians often had the better of the argument. It was White political skulduggery, as much at least as Indian contentiousness, which created the tasks of the Indian-fighting Army.

W. KANE, S. J.

Loyola University Library

Eugénie, Star-crossed Empress of the French. By Rita Wellman. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1941. Pp. 326.

Eugénie de Montijo was born in Spain and in Spain she died, a nonagenarian. A fortuneteller, gossip had it, had divined at her birth that Eugenie would grace a royal throne and would live to a hundred years of age. It is this story, covering almost a century of important European history, which Rita Wellman tells us in a catchy, journalistic style. Eugénie did reach the imperial throne of France as the wife of Louis Napoleon, better known as Napoleon III. There she became part of the splendor, intrigue, and unconcealed revelry in the court of Napoleon III. Queen Victoria admired Eugénie, when the second French Empire was still externally imposing, and exchanged visits with her in Paris and London. After the French Empire fell Victoria pitied Eugénie and offered her England as a refuge. In this shelter the ex-empress lived almost to her death. A long list of celebrities come and go through the pages of the biography, each in varying degree of importance, sometimes inexplicable, such as the list of the women of demi-monde. In the portrayal of French life, there are expressions and innuendoes which challenge our sense of propriety and make unwholesome reading. Parenthetical sentences are many, and have the effect of a stage "aside," rather than the force of a straightforward narrative of the historian. There are also serious facts of history woven into the narrative, among them a behind-the-scenes account of Maximilian's Empire in Mexico, the building of the Suez Canal, Bismarck's foreign policy, and others. But the newer light shed on these great events is flimsy and trivial. A bibliography and an index close the volume. The biography, claiming no special merit as a scientific study, offers a psychological and feminine interpretation of French political and social life.

JOSEPH ROUBIK

Loyola University, Chicago

Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico. By Salvador de Madariaga. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941. Pp. 554.

The career of Hernán Cortés truly offers a worthy challenge to any biographer. It has everything that a writer might desire in attempting to portray the complexity of human nature. Human greatness and human weakness, success and failure, prudence and rashness, idealism and sinfulness, personality, adventure, and a dozen more traits, all are contained in the character of this extraordinary mortal. Francisco Pizarro conquered a vaster and a wealthier empire, but fortunate circumstances and Cortés's example rather than greater ability gave him the advantage. There are few, if any, human achievements to equal and none to surpass the deeds of Hernán Cortés and his valiant band in their conquest of Mexico. Therefore, Señor Madariaga has for his subject one of the world's "greats."

Less preoccupied with a thesis or series of theses than he was in his earlier biographical effort on Columbus, the author has, in that measure, given us a better and more solid work. From a documentary point of view he has added little, if anything, that is new. In his use of familiar documents, coupled with his greater ability to analyze the character of one of his countrymen, lies the merit of the study. As long as Madariaga stays close to the documents and checks a very human tendency to read thoughts and motives into his hero's mind, the portrayal is good, even if occasionally tinged with overenthusiasm and overeagerness to pardon moral lapses and to extenuate culpability. The justification offered for some of the less pretty pages of the hero's life-story is that of a worshiper rather than of a careful critic. The end never justifies the means, no matter how great or exalted or desirable or even seemingly necessary that end may be.

That Madariaga has brought the great *conquistador* back to life in his pages, no one will deny. However, there are times when one will question if the author's Cortés is always the real one. Yet many real services have been done the memory of Cortés and his fellow Spaniards. To mention a notable one—the religious side of the *conquistador* character is given a place too often denied it in the works of less understanding biographers. On this score the author knows his Spaniards and rightly gives credit where credit is due. Were more writers capable of recognizing and willing to admit this deep Catholicism not only in the conquerors but also in modern Latin America, Pan-Americanism might cease to be such a thing of fine words and become more of a reality.

The events of the day and the ideology to which the author and all of us are devoted have caused a rather loose and misleading use of the word "democracy" and its derivatives. Democracy is much more than a matter of asking opinions or even of allowing a certain few trusted persons a share in policy-making. One or other inaccuracy might be noted: modern opinion favors the date 1519 as that of the

execution of Balboa, rather than Herrera's 1517; the title for Chapter Five, "Love and Revolt in Española," presumably is a slip for "Love and Revolt in Cuba." This does not exhaust the list, but let it suffice. Besides a carefully prepared general index, there is a most helpful special index for Cortés. In this last the author sets an example that biographers might well follow.

JOHN F. BANNON

St. Louis University

Novas Cartas Jesuíticas (De Nóbrega a Vieira). By Serafim Leite, S. J. Companhia Editora Nacional, São Paulo, 1940. Pp. 344.

Luiz Figueira, A Sua Vida Heróica e a Sua Obra Literária. By Serafim Leite, S. J. Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisboa, 1940. Pp. 251.

These two documentary volumes, from the prolific pen of the leading Portuguese authority on the Jesuits in colonial Brazil, are a contribution of fundamental importance to our knowledge of the social and cultural history of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Brazil. The first volume is divided into three parts: "Letters of Manuel da Nóbrega, 1552-1567"; "Miscellaneous Jesuit Letters, 1552-1607"; "Letters of Antonio Vieira, 1656-1690." All of these letters, uncovered by the assiduous Jesuit scholar in the archives of Rome and Portugal, are published here for the first time. As the author points out, they represent a cross-section of a mass of similar Jesuit letters and relations, which rest in the Jesuit archives of Rome for the most part, and which have never been published nor utilized by students of colonial Brazil.

The Brazilian Academy, in 1931, published in a single volume thirty-one Nóbrega letters, all of those known at that time. Leite adds fifteen more, thus enriching by one-third the total of published letters of the founder of the Jesuit province in Brazil. They shed much new light not only on the story of Jesuit beginnings in Brazil, but also on the general Brazilian scene of the period. The remarkable frankness and objectivity of Nóbrega's letters, and the broad scope of their contents, make it necessary to classify them as basic documents of the period. The six "Miscellaneous Letters" also belong to the heroic phase of the formation of Brazil; their authors are: Luiz da Grã, companion and successor to Nóbrega; Leonardo Nunes, the first apostle of São Paulo; João de Azpilcueta Navarro, who accompanied the pioneer Portuguese expedition to Minas; Pero Correia, member of the first Jesuit expedition to Paraguay; and Jerónimo Rodrigues, author of the extraordinary letter of 1607 describing the region of the present state of Rio Grande do Sul. The Grã letter to St. Ignatius, written from Baía in 1553, reveals its author as one of the important sources for some of the later writings of Anchieta and Cardim. Vieira's letters,

which are not only important historical documents, but also recognized masterpieces of Brazilian literature, long have been published in various important collections. Leite adds nine more letters written in the vernacular by the great seventeenth-century Jesuit. These letters deal primarily with Jesuit activities in Maranhão during the last half of the seventeenth century.

In the *Luiz Figueira* volume, Leite has gathered together the previously published writings of the author of the famed *Arte da Língua Brasileira*, and pioneer Jesuit missionary of Maranhão and Grão Pará, as well as several hitherto unpublished Figueira writings. The book is divided into two parts: a factual, well-documented biographical study of Figueira's life and work (pp. 19-86), followed by the documents (pp. 87-234). It is an epic story, for Figueira's work in Brazil's far north in the first half of the seventeenth century was but a later repetition of the pioneer activities of the first Jesuits in the coastal region between Pernambuco and São Paulo. Some of the documents touch on the Brazilian province in general, but in the main they elucidate the history of the beginnings of that nobly conceived and administered Jesuit "republic" in the far north of seventeenth-century Brazil which by 1693 consisted of fifty-five Jesuit Indian *aldeias* or mission establishments. Figueira stands forth as the founder of the missions of Maranhão, the successor of Anchieta in the study of the Tupi language, and the author of a group of letters and relations which constitute a basic source for the early history of Maranhão and Grão Pará.

Both volumes are full of suggestive notes, are well indexed, and in every way represent the highest standards of modern scholarship.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Institute of Jesuit History

The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. 1937 Volume, *The Constitution Prevails*; 1938 Volume, *The Continuing Struggle for Liberalism*; 1939 Volume, *War—and Neutrality*; 1940 Volume, *War—and Aid to Democracies*. Compiled and collated by Samuel I. Rosenman. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941. Pp. 2902.

These four volumes may well be put down as among the indispensables. They are a continuation of the five books of public utterances of the President of the United States which covered his two terms as Governor of New York and his first presidential term. The present set contains in chronological order all important public papers and addresses, the valuable documents of the past four years, selected with a view to bringing out national and international trends and illustrative of types of Executive statements, proclamations, chats, and press conferences. Many of the items are annotated by the President, who also wrote the special Introduction to each volume. The Topical Table

designed to guide the reader to a unified discussion of a particular broad subject, such as Agriculture, Banks and Banking, is exceedingly helpful. The indexing and format follow the high standard of the preceding volumes, and the printing, too, is worth commenting on for its artistry.

No one will gainsay that these materials pertain to a period of tremendous change in our national and international affairs. They denote in their entirety a shrewd awareness on the part of the President of the aims of foreign totalitarianism and a keen appreciation on his part of a world divided between the oriental and democratic ideologies. The menace of the aggressor nations and the warnings to this nation against their policies, harbingers of international lawlessness, stand out in many pages all too clearly now that direct aggression has come. In the Introductions one can read of the President's efforts to establish peace, his appeals for disarmament and non-aggression, his warning of the menace of war, and in 1938-1939 his loss of hope in the European situation. Then the machinery for defense had to be set in motion.

Mr. Rosenman and his assistants deserve much praise for their tireless work in organizing these documents for presentation. Teachers will be grateful for the volumes both as reference works for their students and for the preparation of lectures. Scholars will use them liberally; they will note that the private and unpublished letters of the President are being carefully collected, eventually to be housed in the Hyde Park Library for use of research students of the future. The total of statements public and private of Franklin D. Roosevelt already begin to loom as a narrative of a great turning point in history. The major divisions of the narrative are indicated by the titles of these and the preceding volumes. The next volumes will tell the climax and the beginning of the new era.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago